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RARE ADVENTURES AND
PAINEFULL PEREGRINATIONS

by

WILLIAM LITHGOW

edited by

B. I. LAWRENCE



LONDON

JONATHAN CAPE 30 BEDFORD SQUARE

FIRST ~~COMPLETE~~ EDITION PUBLISHED 163~~2~~
FIRST PUBLISHED IN THE TRAVELLERS' LIBRARY 1928

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS abridgment has been made from the edition of *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painfull Peregrinations* by William Lithgow, published in 1906, by Messrs. James MacLehose & Sons, Glasgow, by kind permission of their successors, Messrs. Jackson Wylie & Co., Glasgow.

INTRODUCTION

WILLIAM LITHGOW was born in Lanark about 1582, and was educated at the Grammar School of that town. He himself hints obscurely at the cause of his leaving Scotland as 'that Delilah wrong,' which family tradition holds to be a love affair with a certain Miss Lockhart, whose brothers found Lithgow with her, and cut off his ears.

After visits to the Orkney and Shetland islands, and a 'thorough surveigh' of Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, he set out from Paris in 1609 on the first of the three journeys related in his book. On his return, crippled, from the third, he was imprisoned for assaulting Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who had infuriated him by worthless promises of redress for his sufferings in Spain at the hands of the civil authorities and the Inquisition. According to his own account he was only incarcerated for nine weeks, but the records of the Marshalsea speak of him as being there nearly eleven months. In 1624 he preferred a Bill of Grievance to the House of Lords, without effect.

Lithgow made other journeys; in 1627 he went to Scotland, and in 1637 he attempted to reach Russia, but was prevented by the approach of winter, and so remained in Holland. Here he witnessed the siege of Breda, and later published a discourse upon it. *A Survey of England*, which contains an interesting description of the fortifications raised against the Royalist army, was published in 1643. Finally he was present at the siege of Newcastle, on which he produced a pamphlet in 1645. From this year he disappears for ever, probably dying then or soon after, when he would have already been sixty-three years old. Traditionally he is supposed to have

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died in Lanark and to have been buried there. These are the few facts of his life not found in his book.

There are various editions of Lithgow's travels. A short account of his first journey was printed in 1614, with a second impression in 1616, and a selection is contained in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, but the earliest full version appeared in 1632, under the title *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Years Travayles from Scotland to the most Kingdoms in Europe, Asia and Affrica*. It was again published, under slightly varied titles, in 1640 and 1682 in London, in 1770 and 1814 in Edinburgh, while a collection of his poetical remains was made in 1863. A translation into Dutch appeared in 1652. Lastly an edition, based on the text of 1632, was published in 1906 in Glasgow by James MacLehose & Sons under the title *The Rare Adventures of William Lithgow*; their successors, Messrs. Jackson Wylie & Co., have given permission for the use of their text in this abridgment.

The somewhat unamiable character of the author is so far revealed in his book, that it needs no further comment, therefore it remains only to discuss the value of the work. Lithgow's style is sometimes euphuistic (for instance, 'ruvidous vulgarity' is his stock epithet for peasants), and the more self-pitiful or intolerant he grows the more redundant his expression, with occasional lapses into verse; yet in narrative he is clear and lively. In short, he fails when he attempts artistry in writing, but even then he gives perverted enjoyment.

As a traveller he may be rated highly, although his own valuation stresses the wrong quality; he speaks of

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Ulysses' voyage, 'as of no such estimation as that princely poet accounted it, for his travels were not answerable to the fifteenth part of mine.' Some of Lithgow's contemporaries, especially merchants to India or the Far East, far outdistanced him, but they are his inferiors in style, in observation of customs and individuals, and wealth of incident. Possibly the fact that he travelled for pleasure gives his book virtues, which the accounts of merchants, passing through countries intent upon their destination, could not possess. Moreover, these longer voyages contained dull miles of sea. Unhappily a projected journey to Abyssinia was prevented by his maltreatment in Spain on the way out; he would, however, have been by no means the first European to reach that country, which had been under the influence of Portuguese missionaries since the fifteenth century, one of whom described it in 1520: in 1633 they were expelled and no European visited Abyssinia till the Frenchman, Poncet, in 1698. Another of Lithgow's failures was his attempt on Baghdad; he turned back at the Euphrates, and his accounts of that region are not so illuminating as those of the German Rauwolff (1595) or the Italian Pietro dalle Valle (1615). Perhaps he is most admirable when, 'overmastered with the greedy desire of more sights,' he strikes south from Fez beyond the borders of Morocco; for the aridity of its soil and the hostility of its inhabitants causes this country to be yet unexplored. Ibn Batuta, in the fourteenth, and Leo Africanus, in the sixteenth century, who both reached the Niger and made extensive journeys in the Sahara, had the advantage of being Moors and Moslems. Lithgow's journeys in Europe follow the usual routes, except for his walk

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into Roumania intent upon Tartary, which he gave up as too dangerous.

In all he claims to have visited 'forty-eight Kingdomes, ancient and moderne; twenty-one Reipublickes, ten absolute principalities, with two hundred Ilands.'

Lithgow took his profession of traveller seriously, being as anxious to impart information as to obtain it: since he made notes as he progressed and was cautious and observant, though without imagination, he is remarkably accurate. His languages, too, were sufficient; he knew Spanish, Italian and Latin, but neither Arabic nor Greek, ancient or modern. In some cases misleading statements may be due to the confusion or loss of his notes (the Inquisitors seized his property in Spain), in others to pardonable errors. For instance, he describes Birejik, on the upper Euphrates, as being only six days' caravan from Baghdad and as much as eleven days from Aleppo — a glance at a map will show the absurdity of these figures — yet he computes the whole journey from Aleppo to Baghdad at thirty days, which is roughly correct, so that he has merely apportioned the distances wrongly. Again on the second journey, he speaks of the kingdom of Tlemsen as lying directly between Tunis and Algiers, whereas in reality it was on the borders of Morocco; in another place he seems to rectify this error himself. Similarly his wording suggests that the towns of Sali and Tetuan, on either side of the horn of Morocco, were near Algiers, although in the same sentence he describes them as on the right hand and far to the west, when he turned inland towards Fez, so putting them in their correct position. Such mistakes seem to be the result of careless redaction or faulty memorizing on a

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coast which he had formerly known well. He has also minimized the distance from Algiers to Fez, about 550 miles, which he says he accomplished in the impossibly short time of seven days, so that most likely Lithgow carried loose papers and the notes on Tlemsen were placed between those on Tunis-Algiers instead of Algiers-Fez. The distance from Tlemsen might be covered in seven days, while from Algiers to Fez would take nearly three weeks; the remark on Sali and Tetuan would then apply to the departure from Tlemsen, at which point he would naturally turn inland.

But Lithgow's tidy mind definitely misunderstood the nature of some of the sects, pagan, christian or composite, in Palestine and Syria. On occasions, too, he assigns false ancient names to modern towns: and he asserts the Koran to be written in Syriac.

In his personal comments Lithgow is just, except where his religious prejudices entangle his judgment. Particularly fair is his estimate of the Turks. But, critical as he was about the Catholic holy places and miracles which he encountered, he recites the usual wholesale accusations against the Popes. Like other travellers he is full of knowledge and condemnation of the 'preposterous veneries' which he meets.

Many of the details which he mentions are of interest, for he is one of the first to note coffee-drinking in Europe, the artificial incubation of chickens, the pigeon post (between Baghdad and Aleppo), and the importation of currants to England from Zante, whose inhabitants, 'often demaunde the English in a filthy derision, what they did with such leprous stuffe, and if they carried them home to feed their Swine and Hogges withall.'

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He says of the Peloponnese, 'amongst these rockes my belly was pinched, and wearied was my body with the climbing of Fastidious mountaines, which bred no small grief to my breast'; a statement which would be endorsed by any modern traveller in Greece. Conditions have altered little in the Near East. Travellers may still be surprised by Arab attacks, although not necessarily in such disadvantageous circumstances as Lithgow, who had climbed naked up 'a heavy and sad turpentine tree,' to cut a rod for King James I. Frontier and desert tribes still levy tolls. That dependence of the inhabitants of Egypt, for their water supply upon the goodwill of Abyssinia, which Lithgow remarks, was twice emphasized recently, once during the war, when a project to divert the Nile was instigated by the Turks, and again when a concession for a dam was announced in the early months of 1928

In this clear and truthful account of the course of the two Niles is an instance of the advance in geographical methods since the Renaissance; for the Crusader Joinville, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, can only suggest the Earthly Paradise as the source of the Nile.

Lithgow's book was intended to be a Baedeker with a moral purpose; he maintains that people ought to travel for the good of the state and the enlargement of learning. To this end he provides information about prices, food, the looks of women and the villainy of natives, for 'the itching traveller,' together with historical or topographical discourses for the vicarious enjoyment of those who cannot travel. The book has been reduced by two thirds, and naturally it has been the principle to omit historical and topographical matter on familiar

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countries, like Italy. Only personal comments and adventures are retained in such cases. Thereby space is given to the more remote countries. But even here pre-eminence is allowed to personal adventures since historical allusions require so much elucidation, that the book would contain too many footnotes: moreover, such information breaks the narrative and is obtainable elsewhere. As it is, a few notes have been considered indispensable, on allusions of general interest.

The spelling of place-names has been corrected and modernized, otherwise, between the mistakes both of author and printer, they would sometimes be unrecognizable; for instance, the castle of Yedi Kule (at Constantinople) was printed as Jadileke. Where the name has been completely changed the ancient name has been obliterated and care taken to identify such places; 'the Caraminian shore' has been altered to 'the shore of Asia Minor.' But elsewhere the spelling is Lithgow's own.

Foreign quotations are usually omitted and their English translations kept, but one is worth preserving: *Bulla di santa Cruzada, pro defunctis in Purgatory*. In defence of Lithgow's linguistic attainments, it should be said that a sentence beginning in Italian, continuing in Spanish and Latin and ending in English, is probably due to the printer.

For further introduction let Lithgow's own words serve.

B. I. L.

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY MONARCH,
CHARLES,
BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE, AND IRELAND, ETC.

GRACIOUS SIR;

IF Loyall Duty may bee counted presumption? then doubtlesse the best of my meanest worth must beg pardon, for Claying so Royall a Patronage: Yet to whom should I prostrate my Pen and Pilgrimage? if not unto your Sacred Majesty: The Subject treateth of my tedious and curious Travailes, in the best and worst parts of the world; which being begunne in Your hopefull Infancy, are now finally accomplished in the fulnesse of Your thrice blessed Majority.

The generall Discourse it selfe, is most fixed upon the Lawes, Religion, Manners, Policies, and Government of Kings, Kingdomes, People, Principalities and Powers; and therefore so much the more fit for your Majesty. The defect resting onely in me, the worthlesse Author, in handling a rare and plentiful Subject, with a homely and familiar Stile; no wayes fit for Sovereignty to peruse.

Yet (Royall Sir) vouchsafe to remember how thankfully Alexander, received a small Cup of Water; and what a high Value was set upon the Widdowes Mite. And questionlesse as the Bee, gathereth sweetest Hony out of sowrest Flowers, your Royall understanding may finde something, to underprope the Defects of my nothing; and my soule to exult in the smallest sparke of your Gracious Clemency. And lastly, the grievous Sufferings, tortures, and torments, I sustayned in Malaga, being taken as a Spye for your Late Fathers Fleete, exposed agaynst Algier: and condemned to death by their bloody Inquisi-

EPISTLE DEDICATORY

tion for the Gospells sake. These (I prostrate say) doe command me to present the perfect passage thereof, unto your Royall & Religious consideration. The Tragicall discourse it selfe also humbly bequeathing all, unto your Princely piety and pittie, to Commiserate both my case and cause. Wherefore (and as duty bindeth) I shall ever beseech God to preserve your Royall Raigne from wicked Achitophells, to guard your Sacred person with Heavenly Angels, and to guide your Monarchicke State, with faithful and Religious Counsellours.

AMEN.

Your Majesties most humble,
and most obedient Subject,
and Servant:

WILLIAM LITHGOW

THE PROLOGUE TO THE READER

JUDICIOUS Lector; if good Bookes may be tearmed wise guides, then certainly true Histories, may be tearmed perfite Oracles, secret Counsellours, private Schoole-masters, familiar friends to cherish knowledge, and the best Intelligencers, for all intendements; being duely pondered, and rightly used. This laborious worke then of mine, depending on this preamble, is onely composed of min^e owne eye sight, and ocular experience (*pluris est oculatus testis unus, quam auriti decem*). To the wise I know it will be welcome, to the profound Historian, yeeld knowledge, contemplation, and direction, and to the understanding Gentleman, insight, instruction, and recreation. Now as touching the hissing of snakish Papists; a tush for that snarling Crew; for as this worke being fensed with experience, and garnished with trueth, is more than able to batter downe the stinging venome of their despightfull waspishnes: so also they may clearely see therein, as in a Mirrour, their owne blindnes, and the damnable errorrs of their blind Guiders, Deceavers, and Idolaters: And above all the cruell infliction imposed upon me, by the mercillesse Inquisition of their profession in Malaga: which for Christs sake I constantly suffered, in tortures, torments and hunger: And lastly they may perceave Gods miraculous mercy, in discovering and delivering me from such a concealed and inhumane murder. And now referring the well set Reader to the History it selfe, where satisfaction lyeth ready to receave him, I come to talke with the scelerate Companion: If thou beest a Villane, a Ruffian, a Momus, a Knave, a Carper, a Crittick, a Bubo, a Buffon, a stupid Asse, and a gnawing worme with envious lips; I bequeath thee to a Carnificiall reward: where a flaxing rope will soone

PROLOGUE TO THE READER

dispatch thy snarling slander, and free my toylsome travells,
and now paynefull labours, from the deadly poyson of
thy sharpe edged calumnies: and so go hang thy selfe, for
I neither will respect thy love, nor regard thy malice:
And shall ever and alwayes remayne;

To the Courteous still observant, and to
the Critticall Knave as he deserveth,

WILLIAM LITHGOW

THE AUTHOR TO HIS BOOKE

Go painefull Booke, go plead thy owne Defence,
Walke with undaunted Courage, stop the Breath
Of carping tongues; who count it small offence
To bulge Thee up, within the jawes of Death:
Go lively charg'd, with stout Historian Faith,
And trample downe, base Crittickes in the Dust:
Make Trueth thy sword, to batter down their wrath
So shall thy Grave discourse, triumph as just:
Who yeeld Thee Credite, and deserving trust,
There prostrate fal, give them their hearts content:
Point forth the Wise, and Court them as thou must,
Give them insight, as I give Argument:
 Instruct the Curious, inlarge the Servile Mind,
 Illuminate misunderstandings blinde:
 Sound Knowledge in their ears, deigne to approve me,
 Since Friends and Foes, the World and I, must love
 thee.

RARE ADVENTURES AND
PAINEFULL PEREGRINATIONS

THE FIRST JOURNEY

CHAPTER ONE

Italy

It was a wise saying amongst the Auncients, that thrice happy and blest was that Kingdome, when old men bore sway and ruled the State, and young men travelled abroad: The first by long experience prudently to execute judgement; and the latter by sight and knowledge of forraine soyles and lawes, growing more judicious; might when come to age and preferment, the more facily, and dexteriously exhibit Justice at home. But what shall I say to these moderne and dissolute times? when by the contrary meanes, travell is sleighted, government abused, and insinuating Homelings, thrust in high offices, incapeable of them, being prating Parrots, and sounding Cymbals.

To satisfie the World in my behalfe, as touching my travells, I sincerely protest, that neither ambition, too much curiosity, nor any reputation I ever sought, from the bubling breath of breathlesse man (whose defective censure, inclineth, as instigation, or partiality, moveth his weake and variable opinion) did expose me to such long peregrinations and dangerous adventures past.

Being young, and within minority, I was not onely inveigled, but inforced, even by the greatest then living in my countrey, to submit my selfe to arbitrement, satisfaction and reconciliation. But afterward growing in yeeres, and understanding better the nature of such unallowable redresses, and the hainousnesse of the offence; I choosed rather to seclude my selfe from my soyle.

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Many (I confesse) long to see the remotest Regions of the earth, but dare not undertake the dangers of sight, the chargeable expences of a tributary journey, the hard indurance of flint stones, for a soft feather bed, the extremities of thirst, nor the parching heat of the Sun, hunger in the belly, nor the moist distilling dew to be a humide coverlet to their tender skinne, with innumerable other insuing miseries. For my part, what I have reaped, is by a deare-bought knowledge, as it were, a small contentment, in a never contenting subject, a bitter pleasant tast, of a sweete-seasoned sowre, and all in all, what I found was more then ordinary rejoycing, in an extraordinary sorrow of delights.

But now to leave contemplation, I come to the reall adventure; After two voyages I made to the Orcadian, and Shetlandian Isles; in the stripling age of mine adolescence, and there after surveighing all Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low-Countreys from end to end; I visited Paris, where I remained ten moneths. Divers contestions have I had, about the equality of London, and Paris, in quantity and quality: But having a more serious subject in hand than this paralell, I conclude thus, the infinite shipping, and commodious navigation of London (besides their universall commerce) is more of value, then the better halfe of Paris: compare you the quantity, for there is the quality of the argument. Paris I confesse is populous, a masse of poore people, for lacques and pages, a nest of rogues, a tumultuous place, a noctuall den of theeves, and a confused multitude: Where contrariwise London is adorned with many grave, prudent and provident Senators, civill, well taught, and courteous people, and absolutely, the best governed City on the

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whole face of the earth, as well by night, as by day, and nothing inferiour in quantity to it.

From Paris in the yeere of God 1609, March 7. I set forward; upon the 40. day after my departure from Paris, I arrived at Rome, of which I will memorize, some rarest things, and so proceed.

This City of Rome now extant, is not that old Rome, which Romulus founded that tempered the morter with the blood of his brother Rhemus, who disdainefully leaped over the new wals; and was once the mistresse of the universe, for her triumphs and antiquities, but is now only the carkas of the other, of which she retaineth nothing but her ruines, and the cause of them, her sinnes.

I remember of a pretty observation of Saint Catherine of Siena, who being stricken in devotion, went to venerate Rome, accompanied with a goodly traine; and having visited all the Monuments, supposed Holy places, and Religious relickes there, for the space of five dayes; At last she came to take a view of the Popes Palace, where having spent a whole day, strictly remarkeing the gesture and carriage of the Popes servants: She sawe nothing but abomination, prophanation, and irreligious living, and worser then in Rome it selfe: Whereuppon suddenly the next day shee departed for Siena, being an hundreth Miles distant; pittifully bewayling her journey, and the miserable livers she sawe in Rome. Protesting alwayes after for sixteene yeares time till her death, that the Winde never came from the East blowing Westward to Siena, but she thought the filthinesse of the Popes Palace, and the beastlinesse of Rome, ever stunke in her nose.

This River of Tiber especially made muster of his

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extravagant disgorgements, at that time when Pope Clement 8. was crowned Duke of Ferrara, anno 1589. and that same night he returned to Rome, Tiber waxed so proud of his arrivall, that impetuously inunding his bankes to make him welcome, he over-whelmed the better halfe of the Towne: And if it had not bene for the infinite charges of the Pope, and desperate toile of the people, the violent force of his rage swelling courtesie, had absolutely subverted and carried away the rest of the City. The like inundation was never seene of Tiber, as after this Coronation, portending, that as the first Gomorah was destroyed by fire, so this second Sodome should be sommerssed by water. The beginning of this River springeth from the Umbrian and Aquilean hills joyning with the Alpes Appenine: whose course is fourescore and sixteene miles; disburdening it selfe in the sea Mediterren at Ostia twelve miles from Rome. The mouth and haven whereof have beene long dammed up, to stoppe the passage of hostile and Moorish incursions, least the City should be surprised on a sudden. By which slavish Ecclesiasticke feare, Rome is shamefully defrauded of shipping and forraine trafficke; and if it were not for the Clergy, which are the two parts of the inhabitants (besides the Jewes and Curtezans, which are the greatest implements of the other third part), it would become the most miserable towne in Italy.

And notwithstanding that for the space of 12. miles round about Rome, there are neither Cornes, nor Wines, nor Village, Plantage, or Cultivage, save onely playne and pastoragious fields; intermingled at all quarters with auncient watch-Towers being an old policy of the Romans, to prevent any sudden surprise of their enimies; inso-

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much that at my first view of Rome, I imagined the people were all famished, or in danger of famishing.

But by your leave, being once entered the City, I found abundance of all things necessary for life, at so easie and gentle a rate, that never towne in Europe hitherto could shew me the like.

As for the place where the Pilgrimes find one dinner, called the Popes table, it is thus: there is a certaine low roome at St. Peters Pallace, and without the gate, where every day at our nine of the clocke, there meete 21. pilgrimes; 14. from the Trinity, one having a bullet for all, and seven from St. Peters Penitentials: where being received, the seven Jesuit Pilgrims get the upper place, and sit alone, yet all of them alike served, each of them having foure dishes of meat, besides bread & abundance of wine. The dinner done, their fragments are wrapt up in cleane paper, which they carry with them, and so departing, they, or like company come no more there. They are dayly served with a very venerable Prelat, and a few other serviceable Priests, but for the Popes presence with them, there is no such matter. That liberty being spoyld by a drunken Dutch-man about 60. yeeres agoe, who in presence of the Pope gave up againe his good cheare and strong wines, with a freer good will then perhaps they were allowed him, whereat the Pope grewe angry, notwithstanding the drunken fellowe cryed through his belching throate, Thanks Holy Father, Deere Holy Father, God blesse your Holinesse.

Would God all the Papists in Britaine had the like eie-witnessing approbation as I have had, I am certainly perswaded, with tears & sighes, they would heavily bemoane the terrible fal of that Babylonian whoore, which in

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a prophane estimation is their holy mother Church. For I sincerely sweare to thee, O faithfull Christian, whatsoever sacriledge, incest, or villany a Papist committeth; let him come here, and fill the bribing hands of the Simonaicall Minions, of the thrice crowned Priest, (for *Roma non captat ovem sine lana.*)

And he shall have Indulgences, Dispensations, or absolved Offences, for hundreds, thousands, or more yeeres. After eight and twenty dayes abode, wishing my departure, I hardly escaped from the hunting of blood-sucking Inquisitors, of which the most part were mine owne Country-men, the chieftest of whom was Robert Mophet a Jesuit borne in St. Andrewes, David Chambers, and of our Colledge there, one Gordon, and one Cuninghame, borne in the Cannon-gate of Edenborough: And to speake trueth, if it had not beene for Robert Meggat, borne neere to Newbattle, then resident in Burgo di Roma with the old Earle of Tirone, who hid me secretly for three dayes in the top of his Lords Pallace, when all the streets and ports of Rome were layd for me, who conveighing me away at the fourth mid-night, and leapt the walles of Rome with me, I had doubtlesse dyed as hot a death as a Lady Prioress of Naples did afterward in my second Travells.

Having alwayes a regard of my hasty dispatching from Christendome, I turned through Terra di Lavoro, by the sea side, Campagna di Roma, aunciently Latium, and Umbria, now the Dutchy of Spoleto, even to Loreto, standing in the Marca of Ancona. By your leave, let me lay downe before your eyes some notable illusions of Madonna di Loreto, which I found in my way-faring journey, to amplifie my former discourse, concerning the

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errours of the Roman Church, and as yet was never Englished in our language.

Before I came neare to Loreto by tenne miles, I over-tooke a Caroch, wherein were two Gentlemen of Rome, and their two Concubines; who when they espied me, saluted me kindly, enquiring of what Nation I was? whither I was bound? and what pleasure I had to travell alone? After I had to these demands given satisfaction, they intreated me to come up in the Caroch, but I thankfully refused, and would not, replying the way was faire, the weather seasonable, and my body unwearied. At last they perceiving my absolute refusall, presently dismounted on the ground, to recreate themselves in my company: and incontinently, the two young unmarried Dames came forth also, and would by no perswasion of me, nor their familiars mount againe; saying, they were all Pilgrimes, and bound to Loreto (for devotion sake) in pilgrimage, and for the pennance enjoyned to them by their Father Confessour. Truly so farre as I could judge, their pennance was small, being carried with horses, and the appearance of their devotion much lesse: for lodging at Recanati, after supper, each youth led captive his dearest Darling to an unsanctified bed, and left me to my accustomed repose.

When the morning Starre appeared, we imbraced the way marching towards Loreto, and these vermillion Nymphs, to let me understand they travelled with a chearefull stomacke, would oft runne races, skipping like wanton Lambes on grassie Mountaines, and quenching their follies in a Sea of unquenchable fantasies. Approaching neare the gate of the Village, they pulled off their shooes and stockings, walking bare-footed through the

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streets, to this tenne thousand times polluted Chappell, mumbling Paternosters, and Ave Mariaes an their beads. When they entred the Church, wherein the Chappell standeth, I stood at the entry beholding many hundreds of bare-footed blinded bodies, creeping on their knees and hands: Thinking themselves not worthy to goe on foote to this idely supposed Nazaretan House.

Unto this falsely patronized Chappell, they offer yearely many rich gifts, amounting to an unspeakable value, as Chaines, & Rings of Gold and Silver, Rubies, Diamonds, silken Tapestries, Goblets, imbroudries and such like. The Jesuiticall and Pœnitentiall Fathers receive all, but who so enjoy all, let Camera reverenda Romana, graunt certification to this Loretan avariciousnesse, who fill their coffers twice in the 'yeare therewith. My foure Pilgrimes having performed their ceremoniall customes, came backe laughing, and asked why I did not enter? But I as unwilling to shew them any further reason, demaunded what the matter was? O (said the Italians) This is the House wherein the Virgin Marie dwelt in Galile: and to the confirmation of these words shewed me a Booke, out of which I extracted these Annotations.

This Chappell they hold it to be the house, in which Mary was annunced by Gabriel, and wherein she conceived Jesus, by operation of the holy Ghost. In the meane time, that devotion waxed scant amongst the Christians in the Holy Land: it came to passe in the yeare of our Lord, 1291. and in the time of Pope Nicholas the fourth, that it being shaken off the foundation, was transported miraculously by Angels in the night, from Nazareth in Gallilee, to Tersato in Slavonia: the distance being by sea and land 17. hundred Italian miles, O! a long lift for so

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scurvie a Cell. And in the morning, Shepheards comming to the place of pastorage, found this house, wherewith being astonished, they returned in hast, and told Saint George Alessandro, the Prior of Tersato, who in that meane while was lying sick. He being stricken in admiration with these newes, caused himselfe to be borne thither, and laid before the Altar, and falling in a marvellous trance, the Virgin Mary by a heavenly Vision appeared to him, saying after this manner.

Behold, thou hast often pierced the heavens, with invocations for thy reliefe, and now I am come, not onely to restore thee to thy health, but also to certifie thee, that thou doubt nothing of this House; for it is holy in respect of mee, the chaste immaculate Virgin, ordained before all eternity, to be the Mother of the most High. It was in this Chamber my Mother Anna conceived me, nourished me, and brought me up, in singing Psalmes, Hymnes, and Praises to the glory of God; and also I kept in this roome the blessed Infant Jesus very God, and very Man, without any grievance or paine brought him up with all diligent observation: And when cruell Herod sought the Babes life, by the advertisement of the Angell, I, and my husband Joseph, who never knew my body, fled with him downe to Ægypt. After his passion, death, and ascension to Heaven, I stayed in this house with John, and the other Disciples: Who considering after my death, what high mysteries had beene done into it, consecrated and converted the same to a Temple, for a commemoration of Christs sufferings, the chiefe of Martyrs. Also that resplending Image thou seest, was made by Saint Luke (my familiar) for eternizing the

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memory of my portraiture. That Crosse of Ceder, which standeth at the side of the little Western window, was made by the Apostles: These Cinders in the Chimney touch not, because they are the fragments of the last fire I made on earth: And that Shelve whereon my linnen clothes, and prayer Bookes lay, Let no person come neere it: For all these places are sanctified and holy. Wherefore my Sonne, I tell thee, awake, and goe recite the same which I have told thee unto others; and to confirme thy beleefe therein, the Queene of Heaven giveth thee freely thy health.

Frier Alexander being ravished (say they) with the Vision, went and reported it to Nicholas Frangipano, Lord of that Countrey. And incontinently he sent this Prior and other foure Friars to Nazareth, whereby he might know the trueth thereof, but in that journey they dyed. The Virgin Mary perceiving their incredulity, caused Angels the second time to transport the house over the gulfes of Venice, to a great wood neere by the sea side, in the territory of Recanati in Italy, being 300. miles distant. Which, when the country-men had found, and remarking the splendor of the illuminating Image, dispersed these newes abroad. And the Citizens of Recanati, having seene what great miracles was daily done, by the vertue of this Chappell, imposed then to it this name, Our Lady of Miracles. A little while after the people resorting to it with rich gifts, there haunted in the wood many theeves and cut-throates, who robd and murdered the Pilgrims. Which innocent spilt blood, pricking their pitifull Lady to the heart, she made the Angels transport it the third time, and set it on the top of a little Mountaine, belonging to two brethren in heritage, being forty

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four miles distant from the former place But they upon a day quarrelling, and discording about the utility of the Offerings to this House, the Angels did remoove it the fourth time, and placed it in a high broad way, where it standeth unremooved to this day, which place is now called the Village of Loreto; and from the last Station nine miles distant. This was confirmed by the Papall authority to be of an undoubted trueth, after a hundreth and fifty three yeares deliberation. Loe, as briefly as I could, have I layd open to thy judicious eyes, the transportations, Originall, and Papisticall Opinions of Loreto; protesting I have added nothing to the Authours description, but onely collected these speciall Warrants; omitting other infinite foolish toyes, conceived for their blind-folded credulity.

This Chappell, or rather dwelling house, as they would have it, stood alwayes alone, till of late, that Pope Clement 8. caused build a glorious Church over it: And here by accident I encountred with a very courteous and discreet Gentleman, James Arthur, whose company was to me most acceptable: Our acquaintance being first made at the beginning of the same voiage upon the mountaines of Ferrara, and bound to visite Venice, in his returning home for Scotland, as well as he had done Rome and other Cities of Italy.

Now I remember here of a pretty jest, for he and I going in to see the inravled image with sparrets of iron, and musing on the blacknesse of her face, and the richnesse of her gowne, all set with precious Stones and Diamonds; and because she is sightlesse, foure lampes of oyle they keepe alwayes burning before her face, that the people may see her, because she cannot see them. There

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was, I say, a young lusty woman hard by my elbow, busie at her Beades, who with the heate of the throng, and for lacke of ayre, fell straight in a sound: the women about her gave a shoute, and cryd that our blessed Lady had appeared to her; whereupon she was carried forth and layd upon the steppes, that discend from the Chappell to the Church-floore, five hundreth more come to visite her with salutations of Saint, Saint, O ever blessed Saint; Now it was Friday in the fore-noone, and the woman having travelled all night, and to save charges of fish, had eaten a cold bit of her owne meat privately in the Taverne, with halfe a Buckale of red Wine: The people more admiring this imaginary heavenly trance, than the reliefe of the woman; at last sayd I, brother Arthur, I will goe open yonder womans breast, and I did so: and holding up her head before all the people, there sprung a flood of vin garbo downe the Alabaster stayres, intermingled with lumpes of ill-chewd flesh: Whereat the people being amazed, from a Saint swore she was a Divell: And if my friend and I had not made hast to carry the sicke woman from the Church to a Taverne, doubtlesse, they had stoned her to death; and here was one of their miracles.

Another time, comming backe from my second Travels in Africa, it was my lucke to stumble in here againe, where I saw an old Capuschin Frier conjuring the Divell out of a possessed woman, who had stayed there, and two men keeping her above eightene moneths, being twice a day brought before the Chappell. The Frier stood up before her, the two men holding both her armes; and sayd, laying his formost finger on her brow; In nomine Patris, &c. I charge thee to shew me for what cause thou has possessed the soule of this poore wretch,

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and I adjure thee to goe backe unto these places from whence thou camest. Meane while the woman stood dumbe and silent for the space of a quarter of an howre, not being usuall before: the people gave a shoute, and cry'd, the Divell had left her, whereat he that held her right arme did let it fall downe by her side: But by your leave, in the twinckling of an eye, the Divell in the woman gave the Frier such a rattle in the face, that he was stroke downe upon his backe among the people: And if it had not bene that she was borne downe with strength of hands, she had torne the silly old conjurer in peeces: crying, O false and dissembling knave, pretendest thou to have power to cast out evill Spirits, when thou thy selfe is in a worser case than I, and all thy profession too; Hell, hell, is your reward.

This is another of our Lady of Loreto's Miracles, though many moe I could recite: As for any more vertue of this image, I have knowne sicke folkes loaden with all kinde of diseases, criples, lame, maimed, deafe, dumbe, and numbers possessed with evill spirits lie here before this Lady, till I returned againe from Asia & Africa, that same way: imploring, fasting and penitentially weeping for health; But alas poore soules, they lost their labour. When they had both spent all their meanes, and perhaps the poorest of them three yeares attendance, and forced to my knowledge to returne againe to their severall stations with sorrowfull and comfortlesse hearts.

Leaving this Loreto, and returning to my purpose, James Arthur and I imbarked at Ancona, (15. miles from thence) in a Frigato. After three dayes sayling (having passed by Malamocco, which is the Haven of

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the great Venetian shippes) we arrived at St. Marks place in Venice.

Mine associate and I, were no sooner landed, and perceiving a great throng of people, and in the midst of them a great smoake; but we begun to demaund a Venetian what the matter was? who replied, there was a gray Frier burning quicke at S. Markes pillar, of the reformed order of S. Francis, for begetting fifteene young Noble Nunnes with child, and all within one yeare; he being also their Father confessor. Whereat, I sprung forward through the throng, and my friend followed me, and came just to the pillar as the halfe of his body and right arme fell flatlings in the fire; The Frier was forty sixe yeares old, and had bene Confessor of that Nunnery of Sancta Lucia five yeares: Most of these young Nunnes were Senators daughters; and two of them were onely come in to learne vertue, and yet fell in the midst of vice.

These fifteene with child, were all re-cald home to their fathers Pallaces; the Lady Prioress, and the rest of her voluptuous crew, were banished for ever from the precincts of Venice. The Monastery was razed to the ground, their rents were allowed to be bestowed upon poore families, and distressed age, and their Church to be converted to an Hospitall. Most part of all which M. Arthur and I saw, before ever we either eate, drunke, or tooke our lodging in Venice: And I cannot forget, how after all this, we being inhungred, and also overjoyed tumbled in by chance, Alla capello Ruosso, the greatest ordinary in all Venice, neare to which the Friars bones were yet a burning. And calling for a Chamber, we were nobly & richly served: After dinner they layd

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up our budgets and our burdons, and abroad went we to see the Citie: Night come, we supd, and supd alone: The next morne, I begun to remarke the grandeur of the Inne, and saw it was time that we were gone: I demanded our dependant, what was to pay? he answered, A Crowne the dyet for each of us, being five shillings starling: Mr. Arthur lookd upon me, and I laughd upon him: In a word our dinner and supper cost us twenty shillings English; whereat my companion being discontented, bad the divell be in the Friars ballocks, for we had payd soundly for his Leachery: many like deaths, for like causes, and worser, have I seene in all my three voyages, if time could permit me to particularize them.

The Venetians howsoever of old, they have bene great warriours; they are now more desirous to keepe, then inlarge their Dominions, and that by presents and money, rather than by the sword or true valour; so that whatsoever they loose by battell, it is observed, they recover againe by treatise. The report of the Huns designe against Italy, made them, (avoyding the storme before it fell) to draw into these Ilands and Marishes, being distant from the maine land five miles, and defended against the fury of the sea, by a banke extending to fifty miles in length. Through which in eight places, there is passage broken for small boates, but no way for vessels of any burthen, save at Malamocco, and the castle of Lido: Yea, and so dangerous, that there is neither out-going nor in-comming, without a Pylot, which maketh the Citty unconquerable.

This Citty is seven miles in compasse, and from so base an abject beginning, it is growne (as it were) to be the chiefe bulwarke of Europe. The lawes of this City

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permit not the younger sonnes of the best Gentry to marrie, least the number increasing should deminish the dignity: Yet neverthesse they permit them unlawfull pleasures, and for their sakes allow publicke stewes. The Jewes here, and in Rome, weare red, and yellow hats for notice sake, to distinguish them from others: which necessary custome (would to God) were enjoyned to all the Papists here in England, so should we easily discerne them from the true Christians. And finally, to discourse upon the provision of their magnificent Arsenall, Artillery, Munition and Armor, the division of streetes with channels, the innumerable bridges of stone and timber, their accustomable kind of living, apparell, curtesies, and conventions; and finally, the glory of Gallants, Galleries, Gallies, Galleasses and Gallouns, were a thing impossible for me briefly to relate. Wherefore, I desist, concluding thus; this incomparable mansion is the Paragon of all Cities in the World.

In the time of my staying here, I went forth to Lombardy, and visited the famous Cities of Padua, Verona, and Ferrara. In Padua I stayed three moneths learning the Italian tongue, and found there a Countrey Gentleman of mine, Doctor John Wedderburne, a learned Mathametician, but now dwelling in Moravia, who taught me well in the language, and in all other respects exceeding friendly to me. Padua is the most melancholy City of Europe, the cause onely arising of the narrow passage of the open streets, and of the long galleries and dark-ranges of pillars, that goe alwhere on every hand of you, through the whole streets of the Towne: The Schollers here in the night commit many murthers against their privat adversaries, and too often executed upon the

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stranger and innocent, and all with gun-shot or else stilet-toes: for beastly Sodomy, it is as rife here as in Rome, Naples, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Ferrara, Genoa, Parma not being exempted, nor yet the smallest Village of Italy: A monstrous filthinesse, and yet to them a pleasant pastime, making songs, and singing Sonets of the beauty and pleasure of their Bardassi, or buggerd boyes.

I commend the devotion of Venice and Genua, beyond all the other Cities of Italy; for the Venetians have banished the Jesuites out of their Territories and Ilands: And the Genueses have abandoned the society of Jewes, and exposed them from their jurisdiction. The Jewes and the Jesuites are brethren in blasphemies; for the Jewes are naturally subtill, hatefull, avaritious, and above all the greatest calumniators of Christs name: and the ambitious Jesuites, are flatterers, bloody-gospellers, treasonable tale-tellers, and the onely railers upon the sincere life of good Christians.

CHAPTER TWO

The Adriatic



AFTER my returne from Padua to Venice & 24. days attendance for passage, I imbarked in a Carmoesalo, being bound to Zara in Dalmatia: Scarcely had we lost the sight of Venice, but we incountred with a deadly storme. The Master had no compasse to direct his course, neither was he expert in Navigation; because they use commonly, either on the South or North sides of the Gulfe, to hoise up sayles at night, and againe breake of day they have full sight of land; taking their directions from the topped hills of the maine continent. The tempest increasing, and the winds contrary, we were constrained to seeke up for the Port of Parenzo in Istria. The windes favouring us, we weighed Ankors, and continuing our course, we passed the perillous gulfe of Quarnaro.

The Venetians use to keepe alwayes certaine Gallies at the mouth of this bay, on the Dalmatian side, to intercept the cursary of the Scoks: In the bottome of this gulfe are placed Senj, Gradisca, and Novigrad, the chiefe Cities of Croatia: the people which inhabit these Townes, and the adjoyning Countrey are called Scoks,¹ a kind of Dalmatians, being of a robust nature, courageous and desperate: Their weapons are broad two handed swords, long Skenes, carrying targets at their girdles, and long Gunnes in their hands: They are marvellous swift on foote, and dayly annoy by land their neighbouring Turkes

¹ These were the Uscocchi, pirates who appeared in the Adriatic in 1556 to the continuous injury of Venetian trade; since they sometimes took shelter in Turkish or Austrian ports the Venetians were involved in disputes with their neighbours.

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with inrodes, fetching away great spoyles and booties, of cornes, cattell and horses: And by Sea with Frigots and Brigantines did ever and often vex the Venetian commerce, in their owne domesticke waters: The great losses which from these incursive people the Venetians had from time to time received, and the other dammages they inflicted upon the Turkes in their trafficking with Verice, for whom the Venetians are bound by former articles of peace, to keepe harmelesse within their owne gulfe from all Christian invasions, was the onely and urgent cause that moved the Venetians to wage warre with Ferdinando then Duke of Styria, and now Emperour, Anno Domini, 1616. And besieged Gradisca to their no small disadvantage, both of charges and losse of men: For the towne being strongly fortified with walles and munition, and 2000. Scoks within to defend it, would often at the neare approaching of the enemy make a salley forth on horse and foote, giving many miserable overthrowes to the Assailants: To the which detriments, for twenty dayes space I was a testator, being after my retorne from Africa in my second travels, as I was going for Hungary, Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, taking this countrey in my way: And one morning at the breake of day, I saw 800. Scoks issuing out of towne, make bloody havocke of 3000. of the Venetian army: This part of Croatia is exceeding fertile, abounding in cornes, wines, bestiall and pastorage, though then by lawlesse, and turbulent souldiers, it was miserable defaced.

The whole number of these Scoks that are able to carry armes, be not above sixe thousand men: They are wonderfull kinde to strangers, which to me in no small measure

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was extended, and that by the better sort their Captaines and Commanders, and onely for the affinity of Scoki and Scoti, although I dare sweare, there is little or none at all betwixt the two Nations.

A fit oportunitie obtained upon the eighth day, we arrived in the roade of Zara in Dalmatia; for there the Carmoesalo stayed, and I was exposed to seeke passage for Ragusa.

By the way, I recall the great kindnesse of that Dalmatian Maister, for offering my condition, I found him more then courteous, and would have no more but the halfe of that, which was his bargaine at Venice. Besides this, he also entertained me three dayes, with a most bountifull, and kind acceptance.

Zara is the capitall city of Dalmatia. The inhabitants are governed by a Camarlingo, or Chamberlaine, in the behalfe of Venice. There lye continually in it; a great Garrison of Souldiers to defend the towne and Citizens, who are maintained by the Duke of Venice: for he is Signior thereof. They have indured many invasions of the Turkes, especially in the yeare one thousand five hundredeth and seventy, when for the space of fourteene moneths, they were dayly molested and besieged, but the victory fell ever to the Christians: If the Turkes could win this place, they might easily commaund the Adriaticall Seas, in regard of that faire Haven which is there, to receive Ships and Gallies; which maketh the Venetians not a little fearefull because of their safeguard.

Yet they licentiate the neighbouring Infidels to traffick with them, but when they enter the gates, they must deliver their weapons to the Corporall of the Squadron

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company: Neither may they stay within all night under the paine of imprisonment.

From Zara I imbarked in a small Frigot, bound for Lesina, with five Slavonian Marriners: who sometimes sailed, & sometimes rowed with Oares. The poore Slavonians being fatigated in their hunger-starving Boat, with extraordinary paines (for we had three daies calme, which is not usually seene in these Seas) were enforced to repose all night at the barren Ile of St. Andrew: This Ile is of circuite foure miles, but not inhabited: The excessive raine that fell in the evening, made us goe on shoare, to seeke the coverture of some rocke; which found, we lay all night on hard stones, and with hungry bellies: for our provision was spent. The breach of day giving comfort to our distressed bodies, with favourable windes, we set forward, and about midday we arrived in the Port of Lesina, of which the Ile taketh the name.

This Ile of Lesina is of circuite, a hundred and fifty miles, and is the biggest Iland in the Adriaticke Sea: It is exceeding fertile, and yeeldeth all things plentifully, that is requisite for the sustenance of man. The City is unwall'd, and of no great quantity, but they have a strong fortresse, which defendeth the Towne, the Haven, and the vessels in the Roade. The Governour, who was a Venetian, after he had enquired of my intended voyage, most courteously invited me three times to his Table, in the time of my five dayes staying there: And at the last meeting, he reported the story of a marvellous misshapen creature borne in the Iland, asking if I would goe thither to see it: wherewith (when I perfectly understood the matter) I was contented: The Gentleman honoured me also with his company, and a horse to ride

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on, where when we came, the Captaine called for the father of that Monster, to bring him foorth before us. Which unnaturall Childe being brought, I was amazed in that sight, to behold the deformity of Nature; for below the middle part, there was but one body, and above the middle there was two living soules, each one separated from another with severall members. Their heads were both of one bignesse but different in Phisnomy: The belly of the one joyned with the posterior part of the other, and their faces looked both one way, as if the one had carried the other on his backe, and often before our eyes, he that was behind, would lay his hands about the necke of the formost. Their eyes were exceeding bigge, and their hands greater then an Infant of three times their age. The excrements of both creatures issued foorth at one place, and their thighes and legges of a great growth, not semblable to their age, being but sixe and thirty dayes old; and their feete were proportionably made like to the foot of a Cammell, round and cloven in the midst. They received their food with an insatiable desire, and continually mourned with a pitifull noyse; that sorrowfull man told us, that when the one slept, the other awaked, which was a strange disagreement in Nature. The Mother of them bought dearely that birth, with the losse of her owne life; as her Husband reported, unspeakeable was that torment she indured, in that woefull wrestling paine. I was also informed afterwards, that this one, or rather twofold wretch lived but a short while after we saw them.

Departing from thence in a Carmoesalo bound to Ragusa, before we could attaine unto the Haven, wherein our purpose was to stay all night, we were assailed on a

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sudden with a deadly storme: Insomuch, that every swallowing wave threatned our death, and bred in our breasts, an intermingled sorrowe of feare and hope. And yet hard by us, and within a mile to the ley-ward, a Barbarian man of war of Tunis, carrying two tyre of Ordonance, and 200. men, seiz'd upon a Carmosale of Venice, at the first shot, she being loaden with Malvasie and Muscadine and come from Candia, and had us also in chase till night divided our contrary designes. The winds becomming favourable, and our double desired safety enjoyed, both because of the storme, and of the Pyrat, we set forward; and, upon the second day, we arrived at Ragusa.

Ragusa is a Common-weale, governed by Senators, and a Senate Counsell; it is wonderfull strong, and also well guarded, being situate by the sea side, it hath a fine Haven, and many goodly ships thereunto belonging: The greatest trafficke they have, is with the Genueses: Their territory in the firme land is not much in respect of the neighbouring Turkes, but they have certaine commodious ilands, which to them are profitable: And notwithstanding, of the great strength and riches they possesse, yet for their better safeguard and liberty, they pay a yearly tributary pension unto the great Turke, amounting to fourteene thousand Chickens of Gold: yea, and also they pay yearely a tributary pension unto the Venetians, for the Iles reserved by them in the Adriaticall Gulfe, so that both by sea and land they are made tributary citizens. The most part of the civill Magistrates, have but the halfe of their heads bare, but the vulgar sort are all shaven like to the Turkes.

This Citty is the Metropolitan of the Kingdome of Slavonia.

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The Slavonians are of a robust nature, martiall, and marvellous valiant fellowes, and a great helpe to maintaine the right and liberty of the Venetian State, serving them both by sea and land, and specially upon their Galleyes and men of Warre.

From Ragusa I imbarked in a Tartareta, loaden with corne, and bound to Corfu, being three hundred miles distant.

In all this way we found no Iland, but sayled along the maine land of the Illyrian shore: having passed the Gulfe of Cattaro, I saw a strong Fortresse, situate on the top of a Rocke: wherein one Barbarisso, the Captaine of Solyman, starved to death foure thousand Spaniards. Continuing our Navigation, we entred into the Sea Ionium, and sayled along the coast of Epirus. The most valerous Captaine George Castriot surnamed Scanderbeg, the great terrour and scourge unto the Turkes was borne here; of whom it is recorded, he slew at diverse battles with his owne hands, above three thousand Turkes; obtaining also many fortunate victories against Amurath and Mahomet: After whose death and buriall, his body was digged up by the Turkes, and joyfull was that man could get the least bit of his bones to preserve, and carry about with him, thinking thereby so long as he kept it, he should alwayes be invincible, which the Turkes observe to this day, and likely to do it to their last day.

Upon the sixt day after our departure from Ragusa, we arrived at Corfu, an Iland, no lesse beautifull, then invincible: It lieth in the Sea Ionian, the Inhabitants are Greeks, and the Governours Venetians. The City Corfu, from which the Ile hath the name, is situate at the foote of a Mountaine, whereupon are builded two strong For-

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tresses: they are well governed, and circumspectly kept, least by the instigation of the one Captaine, the other should commit any treasonable effect: And for the same purpose, the Governours of both Castles, at their election before the Senatours of Venice are sworne; neither privately, nor openly to have mutuall conference; nor to write one to another, for the space of two yeares, which is the time of their government. These Castles are inaccessible, and unconquerable, if that the Keepers be loyall, and provided with naturall and martiall furniture. They are vulgarly called, The Forts of Christendome, by the Greekes; but more justly, The strength of Venice: for if these Castles were taken by the Turkes, or by the Spanyard who would as gladly have them, the trade of the Venetian Merchants would be of none account; yea the very meane to overthrow Venice it selfe.

From thence after certaine daies abode, I imbarcked in a Greekish Carmesalo, with a great number of passengers, Greekes, Slavonians, Italians, Armenians, and Jewes, that were all mindefull to Zante, and I also of the like intent; being in all fourty eight persons: having roome windes, and a fresh gale, in 24. houres we discovered the Ile Cephalonia the greater; and sayled close along Cephalonia minor, or Ithaca renowned for the birth of Ulysses.

In this meane while of our passage, the Captaine of the vessell espied a Saile comming from Sea, he presently being moved therewith, sent a Mariner to the toppe, who certified him she was a Turkish Galley of Bizerta, prosecuting a straight course to invade our Barke. Which sudden affrighting newes overwhelmed us almost in despaire. Resolution being by the amazed Maister de-

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maunded, of every man what was best to doe, some replied one way, and some another: Insomuch, that the most part of the passengers gave counsell, rather to render, then fight; being confident, their friends would pay their ransome, and so relieve them. But I the wandring Pilgrime, pondering in my pensive breast, my solitary estate, the distance of my Country and friends, could conceive no hope of deliverance. Upon the which troublesome and fearefull appearance of slavery, I arose, and spoke to the Maister, saying: The halfe of the Carmosalo is your owne, and the most part also of the loading (all which he had told me before:) wherefore my counsell is, that you prepare your selfe to fight, and goe encourage your passengers, promise to your Mariners double wages, make ready your two peeces of Ordonance, your Muskets, Powder, Lead and halfe-Pikes: for who knoweth, but the Lord may deliver us from the thraldome of these Infidels, My exhortation ended, he was greatly animated therewith, and gave me thanks; whereupon, assembling the passengers and Mariners, he gave good comfort, and large promises to them all.

To performe the plots of our defence, every man was busie in the worke, some below in the Gunner-roome, others cleansing the Muskets, some preparing the powder and balles, some their Swords, and short weapons, some dressing the halfe-pikes, & others making fast the doores above: for so the Maister resolved to make combate below, both to save us from small shot, and besides for boording us on a sudden. The dexterous courage of all men was so forward to defend their lives and liberty, that truly in mine opinion we seemed thrice as many as we were. All things below and above being cunningly

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perfected, and every one ranked in order with his Harquebuse and pike, to stand on the Centinell of his owne defence, we recommended our selves in the hands of the Almighty: and in the meane while attended their fiery salutations.

After a long and doubtfull fight, both with great and small shot (night parting us) the Turkes retired till morning, and then were mindfull to give us the new ran-counter of a second alarum. But as it pleased him, who never faileth his, to send downe an unresistable tempest; about the breake of day we escaped their furious designes; and were enforced to seeke into the bay of Argostoli in Cephalonia; both because of the violent weather, and also for that a great lake was stricken into our Ship. In this fight there were of us killed three Italians, two Greekes, and two Jewes, with eleven others deadly wounded, and I also hurt in the right arme with a small shot. But what harme was done by us amongst the Infidels, we were not assured thereof, save onely this, we shot away their middle mast, and the hinder part of the puppe; for the Greekes are not expert Gunners, neither could our Harquebusadoes much annoy them, in respect they never boorded. But howsoever it was, being all disbarked on shoare, we gave thanks to the Lord for our unexpected safety, and buried the dead Christians in a Greekish Church-yard, and the Jewes were interred by the sea side.

Leaving this weather-beaten Carmoesalo layd up, I hired two Fisher-men in a little Boat, to carry me over to Zante, being twenty five miles distant.

Here a Greekish Chyrurgion undertooke the curing of my arme, & performed condition within time.

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It was credibly told me here by the better sort, that this little Ile maketh yearly (besides Oyle and Wine) onely of Currants 160000. Chickins, paying yearely over and above for custome 22000. Piasters, every Chicken of Gold being nine shillings English, and every Piaster being white money sixe shillings. A rent or summe of mony which these silly Ilanders could never affoord, (they being not above 60. yeares agoe, but a base beggarly people, and an obscure place) if it were not here in England of late for some Liquorous lips, who forsooth can hardly digest Bread, Pasties, Broth; and bag-puddings without these curraunts: And as these Rascall Greekes becomming proud of late with this levish expence, contemne justly this sensuall prodigality; I have heard them often demaund the English in a filthy derision, what they did with such Leprous stuffe, and if they carried them home to feed their Swine and Hogges withall: A questions indeed worthy of such a female Traffike, the inference of which I suspend: There is no other Nation save this, thus addicted to that miserable Ile.

CHAPTER FOUR

Crete



THE isle of Crete is the chiefe Dominion, belonging to the Venetian Reipublique. The Venetians detain continually a strong guard, divided in Companies, Squadrons, and Garrisons, in the Citties and Fortresses of the Iland: which do extend to the number of 12000. Souldiers, kept, not onely for the incursion of Turks, but also for feare of the Inhabitants, who would rather (if they could) render to the Turke, then to live under the subjection of Venice, thinking thereby to have more liberty, & lesse taxed under the Infidell, then now they are under the Christian. This much of the Ile in generall; and now in respect of my travelling two times through the bounds of the whole Kingdome, which was never before atchieved by any Traveller in Christendome; I will as briefly as I can in particular, relate a few of these miseries indured by me in this Land, with the nature & quality of the people.

This aforesaid Grabusa, is the principall Fortresse of Crete, being of it selfe invincible, and is not unlike to the Castle of Dumbarton, which standeth at the mouth of Clyde. Having learned of the theevish way I had to Canea, I advised to put my money in exchange, which the Capitaine of that strength very curteously performed; and would also have diswaded me from my purpose, but I by no perswasion of him would stay. From thence departing, all alone, scarcely was I advanced twelve miles in my way, when I was beset on the skirt of a Rocky Mountaine; with three Greeke murdering Renegadoes, and an Italian Bandido: who laying hands on me, beate me most cruelly,

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robbed me of all my clothes, and stripped me naked, threatening me with many grievous speeches.

At last the respective Italian, perceiving I was a stranger, and could not speake the Cretan tongue, began to aske me in his owne language, where was my money? to whom I soberly answered, I had no more then he saw, which was fourscore Bagantines: which scarcely amounted to two groats English: But he not giving credit to these words, searched all my clothes and Budgeto, yet found nothing except my linnen, and Letters of recommendations I had from divers Princes of Christendome, especially the Duke of Venice, whose subjects they were, if they had beene lawfull subjects: Which when he saw, did move him to compassion, and earnestly entreated the other three theeves to grant me mercy, and to save my life: A long deliberation being ended, they restored backe againe my Pilgrimes clothes, and Letters, but my blew gowne and Bagantines they kept: Such also was their theevish courtesie toward me, that for my better safegard in the way, they gave me a stamped piece of clay, as a token to shew any of their companions, if I encountred with any of them; for they were about twenty Rascalles of a confederate band, that lay in this desart passage.

Leaving them with many counterfeite thanks, I travelled that day seaven and thirty miles, and at night attained to the unhappy Village of Apockichorio: where I could have neither meate, drinke, lodging, nor any refreshment to my wearied body. These desperate Cretans thronged about me, gazing (as though astonished) to see me both want company, and their Language, and by their cruell lookes, they seemed to be a barbarous and uncivill people: For all these High-landers are tyrannicall, blood-

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thirsty and deceitfull. The consideration of which and the appearance of my death, signed to me secretly by a pittifull woman, made me to shun their villany in stealing forth from them in the darke night, and privately sought for a secure place of repose in a umbragious Cave by the Sea side, where I lay till morning with a fearefull heart, a crased body, a thirstie stomacke, and a hungry belly.

Upon the appearing of the next Aurora, I imbraced my unknowne way, and about midday came to Canea, the second Citie of Crete, being exceeding populous, well walled, and fortified with Bulwarkes: It hath a large Castle, containing ninety seaven Pallaces, in which the Rector and other Venetian Gentlemen dwell. There lye continually in it seaven Companies of Souldiers who keepe Centinell on the walles, garde the gates and Market places of the Citie: Neither in this Towne nor Candia, may any Countrey Peasant enter with weapons (especially Harquebuzes) for that conceived feare they have of Treason. Truely this City may equall in strength, either Zara in Dalmatia, or Lucca, or Leghorn, both in Tuscany, or matchlesse Palma in Friuli: for these five Cities are so strong, that in all my Travells I never saw them matched. They are all well provided with abundance of Artillery, and all necessary things for their defence, especially Lucca, which continually reserves in store provision of victuals for twelve yeares siege.

In my first abode in Canea, being a fortnight, there came 6. Gallies from Venice, upon one of which there was a young French Gentleman, a Protestant, borne near Montpellier in Languedoc; who being by chance in company with other foure of his Countrey-men in Venice, one of thẽm killed a young Noble Venetian, about the quarrell

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of a Courtezan: Whereupon they flying to the French Ambassadors house, the rest escaped, and he onely apprehended by a fall in his flight, was afterward condemned by the Senatours to the Gallies induring life. Now the Gallies lying here sixe dayes, he got leave of the Captaine to come a shoare with a Keeper, when he would, carrying an yron bolt on his legge: In which time we falling in acquaintance, he complained heavily of his hard fortune, and how because he was a Protestant, (besides his slavery) he was severely abused in the Galley; sighing forth these words with teares, Lord have mercy upon me, and graunt me patience, for neither friends, nor money can redeeme me: At which expression I was both glad and sorrowfull, the one moving my soule to exult in joy for his Religion: the other, for his misfortunes, working a Christian condolement for intollerable affliction: For I was in Venice, at that same time when this accident fell out, yet would not tell him so much: But pondering seriously his lamentable distresse, I secretly advised him the manner how he might escape, and how farre I would hazard the liberty of my life for his deliverance, desiring him to come a shoare earely the next morning.

Meane while I went to an old Greekish woman, with whom I was friendly inward, for she was my Landresse; and reciting to her the whole businesse, she willingly condiscended to lend me an old gowne, and a blacke vaile for his disguisement. The time come, and we met, the matter was difficult to shake off the Keeper; but such was my plot, I did invite him to the Wine, where after tractall discourses, and deepe draughts of Leaticke, reason failing, sleepe overcame his sences. Whereupon conducting my friend to the appointed place, I disburdened him of his Irons, cloth

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in a female habite, and sent him out before me, conducted by the Greekish woman: And when securely past both Guards and Gate, I followed, carrying with me his clothes: where, when accoasting him by a field of Olives, and the other returned backe, we speedily crossed the vale of Suda, and interchanging his apparrell, I directed him the way over the Mountaines to a Greekish convent on the South side of the land, a place of safeguard, called commonly the Monastery of refuge; where he would kindly be entertained, till either the Galleys, or men of Warre of Malta arrived: It being a custome at their going, or comming from the Levante to touch here, to relieve and carry away distressed men: This is a place whereunto Bandits, men slayers, and robbers repaire for reliefe.

And now many joyfull thanks from him redounded, I returned keeping the high way, where incontinent I encountred two English Souldiers, John Smith, and Thomas Hargrave, comming of purpose to informe me of an eminent danger shewing me that all the Officers of the Galleys, with a number of Souldiers were in searching the City, and hunting all over the fields for me: After which relation, consulting with them, what way I could come to the Italian Monastery Saint Salvator, for there I lay; (the vulgar Towne affording neither lodging nor beds) They answered me, they would venture their lives for my liberty, and I should enter at the Easterne (the least frequented) gate of the City, where three other English men were that day on guard, for so there were five of them here in Garison: Where, when we came, the other English accompanied with eight French souldiers their familiars, came along with us also: And having past the Market place, and neere my lodging, foure Officers and sixe Galley souldiers,

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runne to lay hands on me: whereat the English and French unsheathing their Swords, valiantly resisted their fury, and deadly wounded two of the Officers: Meane while fresh supply comming from the Galleys, John Smith runne along with me to the Monastery, leaving the rest at pell mell, to intercept their following: At last the Captaines of the Garrison approaching the tumult, relieved their owne Souldiers, and drove backe the other to the Gallèys.

A little thereafter the Generall of the Galleys come to the Monastery, and examined me concerning the fugitive, but I cleering my selfe so, and quenching the least suspicion he might conceive (notwithstanding of mine accusers) he could lay nothing to my charge: howsoever it was, he seemed somewhat favourable; partly, because I had the Duke of Venice his Pasport, partly, because of mine intended voyage to Jerusalem; partly, because he was a great favourer of the French Nation: and partly because he could not mend himselfe, in regard of my shelter, and the Governours favour: yet neverthelesse, I detained my selfe under safeguard of the Cloyster, untill the Galleys were gone.

Being here disappointed of transportation to Archipelago, I advised to visit Candia: and in my way I past by the large Haven of Suda, which hath no Towne or Village, save onely a Castle, situated on a Rocke in the Sea, at the entry of the Bay: the bounds of that Harbour may receive at one time above two thousand Shippes and Galleys, and is the onely Key of the Iland: for the which place, the King of Spain hath oft offered an infinite deale of money to the Venetians, whereby his Navy which sometimes resort in the Levant, might have accesse and reliefe; but they would never graunt him his request; which policy of his was onely to have surprized the Kingdome.

CRETE

South-west from this famous harbour, lieth a pleasant plaine surnamed the Valley of Suda: It is twenty Italian Miles long, and two of breadth: And I remember, or I discended to crosse the Valley, and passe the haven, me thought the whole planure resembled to me a greene sea; and that was onely by reason of infinite Olive trees grew there, whose boughes and leaves over-toppe all other fructiferous trees in that plaine: The Villages for losse of ground are all built on the skirts of Rockes, upon the South side of the Valley; yea, and so difficile to climbe them, and so dangerous to dwell in them, that me thought their lives were in like perill, as he who was adjoynd to sit under the poynt of a two handed sword, and it hanging by the haire of a horse tayle.

Trust me, I told along these Rockes at one time, and within my sight, some 67. Villages; but when I entred the valley, I could not find a foote of ground unmanured, save a narrow passing way wherein I was: The Olives, Pomgranets, Dates, Figges, Orenge, Lemmons, and Pomi del Adamo growing all through other: And at the rootes of which trees grew Wheate, Malmsie, Muscadine, Leaticke Wines, Grenadiers, Carnobiers, Mellones, and all other sorts of fruites and hearbes, the earth can yeeld to man; that for beauty, pleasure, and profit it may easily be surnamed, the garden of the whole Universe: being the goodliest plot, the Diamond sparke, and the Honny spot of all Crete.

Continuing my voyage, I entred in a faire plaine, beautified with many Villages; in one of which, I found a Grecian Bishop, who kindly presented me with grapes of Malmsie, and other things, for it was in the time of their vintage. To carry these things he had given me, he caused to make ready an Asse, and a Servant, who

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went with me to Candia, which was more then fifteene miles from his house. True it is, that the best sort of Greekes, in visiting other, doe not use to come empty handed, neither will they suffer a stranger to depart without both gifts and convoy.

I remember along this passage, I found three fountaines gushing forth of a Rocke, each one within a yard of other, having three sundry tast: the first water was exceeding light, and sweet; the middle or second, marvelous sowre and heavy: the third was bitter and extraordinary salt: so that in so short bounds so great difference, I never found before, nor afterward.

Candia is a large and famous City, situated on a plaine by the sea side, having a goodly Haven for shippes, and a faire Arsenall wherein are 36. Gallies: It is exceeding strong, and dayly guarded with 2000. Souldiers, and the walles in compasse are about three leagues.

In this time there was no Viceroy, the former being newly dead, and the place vacant, the Souldiers kept a bloody quarter among themselves, or against any whomsoever their malignity was intended, for in all the time I stayed there being ten dayes, it was nothing to see every day foure or five men killed in the streetes: neither could the Rector, nor the Captaines helpe it, so tumultuous were the disordered Souldiers, and the occasions of revenge aud quarrellings so influent. This commonly they practise in every such like vacation, which otherwise, they durst never attempt without death, and severe punishment; and truely me thought it was as barbarous a governed place for the time, as ever I saw in the world: For hardly could I save my owne life free from their dangers, in the which I was twice miserably involved.

CRETE

In all my travels through this Realme, I never could see a Greeke come forth of his house unarmed: and after such a martiall manner, that on his head he weareth a bare steele cap, a bow in his hand, a long sword by his side, a broad Ponard overthwart his belly, and a round Target hanging at his girdle. They are not costly in apparell, for they weare but linnen cloathes, and use no shooes but bootes of white leather, to keepe their legges in the fields from the prickes of a kind of Thistle, wherewith the Countrey is overcharged like unto little bushes or short shrubs which are marvelous sharpe, and offensive unto the inhabitants, whereof, often a day to my great harme, I found their bloody smart: The women generally weare linnen breaches as men do, and bootes after the same manner, and their linnen coates no longer then the middle of their thighes, and are insatiably inclined to Venery, such is the nature of the soyle and climate. The Cretans are excellent good Archers, surpassing all the Orientall people therein, couragious and valiant upon the Sea, as in former time they were; and they are naturally inclined to singing: so that commonly after meat, Man, Wife, and Child of each family, will for the space of an houre, sing with such a harmony, as is wonderfull melodious to the hearer; yea, and they cannot forgoe the custome of it.

Being frustrate of my intention at Candia, I was forced to returne to Canea the same way I went: when come, I was exceeding merry with my old friends the English-men: Meane-while there arrived from Tunis in Barbary, an English Runagate named Wolson, bound for the Rhodes: where after short acquaintance with his natives, and understanding what I was, he imparted these

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words, I have had my elder brother, sayd he, the Maister (or Captaine) of a ship, slaine at Burnt-Iland in Scotland by one called Keere; and notwithstanding he was beheaded, I have long since sworne to be revenged of my brothers death, on the first Scotsman I ever saw or met, and my designe is, to stab him with a knife this night, as he goeth late home to his lodging desiring their assistance: But Smith, Hargrave, and Horsfeild refused, yet Cooke and Rollands yeelded. Meane-while Smith knowing where I used sometimes to diet, found me at supper in a Sutlers, a souldiers house, where acquainting me with his plot, the hoste, he, and three Italian souldiers conveighed me to my bed, passing by the arch-villaine, and his confederats, where he was prepared for the mischief: which when he saw his treachery was discovered, he fled away, & was seene no more here.

Remarking the fidelity and kindnesse that Smith had twice shewen me, first in freeing me from the danger of galley-slavery, and now in saving my life, I advised to doe him a good deed in some part of acquittance, and thus it was: At his first comming to Venice, he was taken up as a souldier for Candia: where, when transported, within a small time he found the Captaines promise and performance different, which enforced him at the beginning to borrow a little money of his Lieutenant: the five yeares of their abode expired, and fresh Companies come from Venice to exhibit the charge, Smith not being able to discharge his debt, was turned over to the new Captaine for five yeares more, who payed the old Captaine his mony; and his time also worne out, the third Captaine came, where likewise he was put in his hands serving him five yeares longer.

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Thus having served three Captaines fiftene yeares, and never likely able (for a small trifle) to attaine his liberty, I went to the Captaine and payed his debt, obtaining also of the Rector his licence to depart; and the allowance of the State for his passage, which was Wine and Biscot-bread: Thereafter: I imbarked him for Venice in a Flemish ship, the Maister being a Scotsman, John Allen borne in Glasgow, and dwelt at Middleburg in Zeeland, his debt was onely forty eight shillings starling.

Here I stayed in Canea twenty five dayes before I could get passage for the Ilands, being purposed for Constantinople; but gladly would not have left the Monastary of these foure Friars, with whom I was lodged, if it had not beene for my designes; in regard of their great cheere and deepe draughts of Malmsey I received hourelly, and oftentimes against my will: Every night after supper, the Friars forced me to dance with them, either one gagliard or other: Their Musicke in the end was sound drunkenness, and their Syncopa turnd to spew up all, and their bed converted to a boord, or else the hard floore, for these beastly swine were nightly so full, that they had never power to goe to their owne chambers, but where they fell, there they lay till the morne. For the space of twenty dayes of my being there, I never saw any one truely sober. Many odde merriments and jests have I observed of these Friars, but time will not suffer me to relate them.

I travelled on foot in this Ile more then foure hundred miles, and upon the fifty eight day after my first comming to Grabusa, I imbarked in a Fisher-boat that belonged to Milo, being a hundred miles distant, which had beene violently driven thither with stormy weather.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Ægean Islands



MILo was called Melos: And lastly Milo, because of the fine mil-stones that are got there, which are transported to Constantinople, Greece, and Anatolia. This Ile is one of the Archipelago, or the Arch-Ilands, and standeth in the beginning of the Ægean sea: The Inhabitants are Greekes, but slaves to the Turke, and so are all the fifty foure Iles, save only Tenos, which holdeth of the Venetians.

From Milo I came to Siphnos in a small boat, an Iland of circuit about twenty miles, and ten miles distant from Milo: The Inhabitants are poore, yet kind people: There are an infinite number of Partridges within this Ile, of a reddish colour, and bigger than ours in Brittain: They are wilde, and onely killed by small shot; but I have seene in other Ilands flocks of them feeding in the fields, and usually kept by children: Some others I have seene in the streetes of Villages, without any keeper, even as our Hennes doe with us.

From thence I imbarked, and arrived at Naousa in Paros. In Naousa I stayed sixteene dayes, storme-sted with Northernly winds; and in all that time, I never came in bed: for my lodging was in a little Chappell a mile without the Village, on hard stones; where I also had a fire, and dressed my meate. The Greekes visited me oftentimes, & intreated me above all things I should not enter within the bounds of their Sanctuary; because I was not of their Religion. But I in regard of the long-some and cold nights, was enforced every night to creepe in, in the midst of the Sanctuary to keepe my selfe warme,

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which Sanctuary was nothing but an Aultar hembd in with a partition wall about my height, dividing the little roome from the body of the Chappell.

These miserable Ilanders, are a kind of silly poore people; which in their behaviour, shewed the necessity they had to live, rather then any pleasure in their living.

From thence I embarked on a small barke of ten Tunnes come from Sitia in Candia, and loaden with Oyle, and about midday we arrived in the Ile of Myconos, where we but only dined, and so set forward. As we fetched up the sight of Nicaria, we espied two Turkish Galleots, who gave us the Chace, and pursued us, straight to a bay, betwixt two Mountaines, where we left the loaden boate, and fled to the Rockes, from whence we mightily annoyed with huge tumbling stones, the persuing Turkes: But in our flying, the Maister was taken, and other two old men; whom they made captives and slaves: and also seized upon the Boate, and all their goods: The number of us that escaped were nine persons.

In generall of these Iles Cyclads, because they are so neere one to another, and each one in sight of another, there are many Cursares and Turkish Galleots, that still afflict these Ilanders: Insomuch that the Inhabitants are constrained to keepe watch day and night, upon the tops of the most commodious Mountaines, to discover these Pirats; which they easily discerne from other vessells, both because of their Sayles and Oares: And whensoever discovered, according to the number of cursary Boates, they make as many fires, which giveth warning to all the Ports to be on guard.

As we entred in the gulfe betweene Chios and the firme land, there fell downe a deadly storme, which split

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our Mast, carrying sayles and all over-board: Whereupon every man looked (as it were) with the stampe of death in his pale visage. The tempest continuing (our Boate not being able to keepe the Seas) we were constrained to seeke into a creeke, betwixt two Rocks, for safety of our lives; where, when we entred, there was no likelihood of reliefe: for we had a shelfie shoare, and giving ground to the Ankors, they came both home.

The sorrowfull Maister seeing nothing but shipwrack, tooke the Helme in hand, directing his course to rush upon the face of a low Rocke, whereupon the sea most fearefully broke. As we touched the Mariners contending who should first leape out, some fell over-board, and those that got land, were pulled backe by the reciprocating waves: Neither in all this time durst I once move; for they had formerly sworne, if I pressed to escape, before the rest were first forth, they would throw me headlong into the sea: So being two wayes in danger of death, I patiently offered up my prayers to God.

At our first encounter with the Rocks, (our fore-decks, and Boates gallery being broke, and a great Lake made) the recoiling waves brought us backe from the Shelfes a great way; which the poore Master perceiving, and that there were seven men drowned, and eleven persons alive, cryed with a loud voyce: Be of good courage, take up oares, and row hastily; it may be, before the Barke sinke, we shall attaine to yonder Cave, which then appeared to our sight: Every man working for his owne deliverance (as it pleased God) we got the same with good fortune: for no sooner were we disbarked, and I also left the last man, but the Boat immediately sunke. There was nothing saved but my Coffino, which I kept

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alwaies in my armes: partly, that it might have brought my dead body to some creeke, where being found, might have beene by the Greekes buryed; and partly I held it fast also, that saving my life, I might save it too; it was made of Reeds and would not easily sinke, notwithstanding of my papers and linnen I carried into it: for the which safety of my things, the Greekes were in admiration. In this Cave, which was 30. paces long, within the mountaine, we abode three daies without either meate or drinke: upon the fourth day at morne, the tempest ceasing, there came Fisher-boates to relieve us, who found the ten Greekes almost famished for lacke of foode; but I in that hunger-starving feare, fed upon the expectation of my doubtfull reliefe.

The dead men being found on shoare, we buried them; and I learned at that instant time, there were seventene boats cast away on the Coast of this Iland, and never a man saved: in this place the Greekes set up a stone crosse in the memoriall of such a woefull mischance, and mourned heavily, fasting and praying. I rejoycing and thanking God for my safety (leaving them sorrowing for their friends and goods) tooke journey through the Iland to Chios, for so is the City called, being thirty miles distant.

At the Citty I was lodged, and kindly used with an old man, of the Genuesen race, for the space of eight dayes: I found here three Monasteries of the orther of Rome, one of the Jesuits, another of Saint Francis, and the third of the Dominican Friers, being all come from Genoa; and because the greatest part of the Citty is of that stocke, and of the Papall Sea, these Cloysters have a braver life for good cheare, fat Wines, and delicate Leachery, than any sort of Friers can elsewhere find in the world.

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The Women of the Citty are the most beautifull Dames, (or rather Angelicall creatures) of all the Greekes, upon the face of the earth, and greatly given to Venery. They are for the most part exceeding proude, and sumptuous in apparell, and commonly go (even Artificers wives) in gownes of Sattin and Taffety; yea, in Cloth of Silver and Gold, and are adorned with precious Stones, and Gemmes, and Jewels about their neckes, and hands, with Rings, Chaines, & Bracelets. Their Husbands are their Pandors, and when they see any stranger arrive, they will presently demaund of him; if he would have a Mistrresse: and so they make Whoores of their owne Wives, and are contented for a little gaine, to weare hornes: such are the base minds of ignominious Cuckolds. If a Straunger be desirous to stay all night with any of them, their price is a Chicken of Gold, nine Shillings English, out of which this companion receiveth his supper, and for his paines, a belly full of sinful content.

This Citty hath a large and strong Fortresse, which was built by the Genueses, and now detained by a Garison of Turkes, containing a thousand fire-houses within it, some whereof are Greekes, some Genoueses, some Turkes, and Moores: The Citty it selfe is unwall'd, yet a populous and spacious place, spread along by the Sea-side, having a goodly harbour for Galleyes and Ships, the chiefe Inhabitants there, are descended of the Genoueses, and professe the superstition of Rome: The people whereof were once Lords of the Ægean Sea, maintaining a Navy of eighty Ships: In the ende they became successively subject to the Romane and Greeke Princes; till Andronico Paleologus, gave them and their Ile to the Justinianes, a Noble Family of the Genoueses: from whom it was taken

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by Solyman the Magnificent on Easter day 1566. being the same yeare that our late gracious, and once Sovereigne Lord, King James of blessed memory was borne.

This Cittadale or Fortresse of Chios, standeth full betweene the Sea, and the Harbour, was invaded by 800. Florentines, sent hither by the great Duke Ferdinando, brother to Queene Mother of Fraunce, and our owne Queene Maries Unkle, Anno 1600. August 7. The manner was thus, The Genouesen seede, had sold the Fort unto the Duke of Florence, whereupon he sent his Galleys and these Gallants thither: Where, when arrived in the night, they scaled the walles, slue the watches, and unhappily ramforced all the Canon; and then entring the Fort put all the Turkes to the sword, and among them, too many Christians: The Galleys all this time, being doubtfull how it went, durst not enter the harbour, but a storme falling downe, they bore up to an Isolet for anchorage, three miles distant: The next morning, the Turkish Bashaw, the Citty, and all the Ilanders were in armes: The Florentines being dismissed of their Galleys, grew discouraged, and trying the Canon, which they had spoyled at their first scallet, it would not be: Meane while, the Bashaw entred in parley with them, and promised faithfully, to send them safe to the Galleys if they would render. Upon the third day they yeeld, and as they issued forth, along the draw bridge, and the Bashaw set in a Tent to receive them as they came in, one by one, he caused strike off all their heads: And done, there was a Pinacle reared upon the Walles of the Fort with their bare sculs which stand to this day.

But by your leave, Ferdinando in person, the yeare following, was more than revenged of such a cruell and

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faithlesse proceeding: He over-maisterd a Turkish towne and castle, put two thousand Turkes to the sword, sparing neither old nor young, and recoyling infinit riches and spoyles of the towne, he brought home their heads with him to Leghorn, and set them up there for a mercilesse monument.

After some certaine dayes attendance, I embarked in a Carmoesal, bound for Euboca. Bearing up to double the South Cape, we straight discovered two Turkish Galleots pursuing us: Whereupon with both sailes and oares, we sought in to the bottome of a long creeke, on the West side of the Cape; whither also fled nine Fisher-boates for refuge: The Galleots fearing to follow us in, went to anchor at a rocky Isolet in the mouth of the bay, and then within night were resolved to assaile us. But night come, and every night of sixe (for there sixe dayes they expected us) we made such Bonfires, that so affrighted them (being two miles from any Village) they durst never adventure it: Yet I being a stranger was exposed by the untoward Greekes to stand Centinell every night, on the top of a high Promontore, it being the dead time of a snowy and frosty winter.

Upon the seaventh day, there came downe to visit us, two Gentlemen of Venice, clothed after the Turkish manner; who under exile, were banished their Native Territories ten yeares for slaughter; each of them having two servants, and all of them carrying Shables, and two Gunnes a peece: which when I understood, they were Italians, I addressed my selfe to them, with a heavy complaint against the Greekes, in detaining my Budgeto, and compelling me to endanger my life for their goods: whereupon they accusing the Patrone, and finding him guilty

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of this oppression, belaboured him soundly with handy blowes, and caused him to deliver my things, carrying me with them five miles to a Townewhere they remained, where I was exceeding kindly entertained ten dayes: And most nobly (as indeed they were noble) they bestowed on me forty Chickens of Gold at my departure, for the better advancement of my voyage, which was the first gift that ever I received in all my travells. For if the darts of death had not beene more advantageous to me, then gifts, I had never beene able to have undergone this peregrination: the divine providence allotting me meanes, from the losse of my dearest consorts gave me in the deepnesse of sorrow, a thankfull rejoycing.

Greece of all Kingdomes in Europe, hath bene most famous, and highly renowned for many noble respects: yet most subject to the vicissitude of Fortune than any other. It is not needfull for me to penetrate further in the condition of their estate, because it is no part of my intent in this Treatise. In a word, they are wholly degenerate from their Auncestors in valour, vertue, and learning: Universities they have none, and civill behaviour is quite lost: formerly in derision they tearmed all other Nations Barbarians: A name now most fit for themselves, being the greatest dissembling lyers, inconstant, and uncivill people of all other Christians in the World.

By the way, I must give the Kings Kingdomes a caveat here, concerning vagabonding Greekes, and their counterfeit Testimonials: True it is, there is no such matter, as these lying Rascals report unto you, concerning their Fathers, their Wives, and Children taken Captives by the Turke: O damnable invention! How can the Turke prey

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upon his owne Subjects, under whom, they have as great Liberty, save onely the use of Bels, as we have under our Princes: The tyth of their Male children, being absolutely abrogated by Achmet, this Amuraths Father; and the halfe also of their Female Dowry at Marriages: And farre lesse from Religion, can they be banished, or deprived of their Benefices, as some false and dissembling fellowes, under the Title of Bishops make you beleeeve; There being a free Liberty of Conscience, for all kinds of Religion, through all his Dominions: and therefore looke to it, that you be no more gulled, golding them so fast as you have done, least for your paines, you prove greater Asses, than they do Knaves.

CHAPTER SIX

The Dardanelles and Constantinople



IN Tenedos I met by accident, two French Merchants of Marseilles, intending for Constantinople, who had lost their ship at Chios, when they were busie at venereall tilting, with their new elected Mistresses and for a second remedy, were glad to come thither in a Turkish Carmoesalo. The like of this I have seene fall out with Seafaring men, Merchants, and Passengers, who buy sometimes their too much folly, with too deare a repentance. They and I resolving to view Troy, did hire a Jenisarie to be our conductor and protector, and a Greeke to be our Interpreter. Where when we landed, we saw here and there many relicts of old walles and many Tombes, which were mighty ruinous. Leaving the fields of noble Ilium, we crossed the River of Simois, & dined at a Village named Extetash.

I remember, in discharging our covenant with the Janisary, who was not contented with the former condition, the French men making obstacle to pay that which I had given, the wrathfull Janisary belaboured them both with a cudgell, till the bloud sprung from their heads, and compelled them to double his wages. This is one true note to a Traveller (whereof I had the full experience afterward) that if he cannot make his owne part good, he must alwayes at the first motion content these Rascals; otherwise he will be constrained, doubtlesse, with stroakes, to pay twice as much: for they make no account of conscience, nor ruled by the Law of compassion, neither regard they a Christian more than a dogge: but whatsoever extortion or injury they use against him, he must

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be French-like contented, bowing his head, and making a counterfeit shew of thanks, and happy too oftentimes, if so he escape.

Hence we arrived at the Castles of Gallipoli; the strength of Constantinople, betweene which no Shippes may enter, without knowledge of the Captaines, and are by them strictly and warily searched, least the Christians should carry in Men, Munition, or furniture of Armes, for they stand in feare of surprising the Towne: And at their returne they must stay three dayes, before they are permitted to go through, because of transporting away any Christian slaves, or if they have committed any offence in the Citty, the knowledge thereof may come in that time.

At that same instant of my abode, there were fourescore Christian slaves, who having cut their Captaines throat, with the rest of the Turkes, runne away from Constantinople with the Galley. And passing here the second day thereafter at midnight, were discovered by the watch of both Castles, where the Cannon never left thundring for two houres; yet they escaped with small hurt, and at last arrived in the Road of Zante; desiring landing, & succour, for their victuals were done: victuals they sent them, but the Governour would not suffer them to come on Land. In end, the Sea growing somewhat boysterous, the slaves for an excuse cut their Cables, and runne the Galley a shoare: Upon this they were entertained in service, but the Providitor caused to burne the Galley, fearing least the Turkes should thereby forge some quarrell. The yeare following, an other Galley attempted the same, but the poore slaves having past the Castles, had bene so wounded and killed with the great shot, and

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the Galley ready to sinke, they were enforced to runne a shoare, where the next morning being apprehended, they were miserably put to death.

Betwixt the Castles and Constantinople, is about fourty leagues. Here I left the two French men with a Greeke Barbour, and imbarked for Constantinople, in a Turkish Frigato. After we had fetcht up the famous City of Calchedon, on our right hand; I beheld on our left hand, the Prospect of that little World, the great City of Constantinople; which indeed yeeldeth such an outward splendor to the amazed beholder, of goodly Churches, stately Towers, gallant Steeples, and other such things; whereof now the World make so great accompt, that the whole earth cannot equall it. Beholding these delectable objects, we entred in the channell of Bosphorus, which divideth Pera from Constantinople.

I had a hard welcome in my landing, for bidding farewell to the Turkes, who had kindly used me three dayes, in our passage from the Castles, the Maister of the boate saying, Addio Christiano: There were foure French Runnagats standing on the Kaye; who hearing these words, fell desperatly upon me, blaspheming the name of Jesus, and throwing me to the ground, beate me most cruelly: And if it had not beene for my friendly Turkes, who leaped out of their boate and relieved me, I had doubtlesse there perished. The other Infidells standing by, said to me, behold what a Saviour thou hast, when these that were Christians, now turned Mahometans, cannot abide, nor regard the name of thy God; having left them, with many a shrewd blow, they had left me, I entred a Greeke lodging, where I was kindly received; and much eased of my blowes, because they caused to oynt them with divers Oyles,

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and refreshed me also with their best entertainment, gratis, because I had suffered so much for Christs sake, and would receive no recompense againe.

The day following, I went to salute, and doe my duety to the right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Glover, then Lord Ambassadour for our late Gracious Soveraigne King James, of blessed memory, who most generously & courteously entertained me three moneths in his house, to whose kindnesses I was infinitely obliged.

Mahomet the second of that name, and Emperour of the Turkes; living in a discontented humour to behold the great and glorious dominions of Christians; especially this famous Citie, that so flourished in his eyes, went with a marvellous power, both by Sea and Land, unto this magnificent Mansion.

The issue whereof was such, that after divers batteries and assaults, the irreligious Infidels broke downe the walles, and entred the City, which breach was about forty paces long, as by the new colour being built up againe, is easily knowne from the old walles: where when they entered, they made a wonderfull massacre of poore afflicted Christians, without sparing any of the Romane kinde, either male or female. In the mercilesse fury of these Infernall Impes, the Emperour Constantine was killed, whose head being cut off, was carried upon the point of a Launce through all the City, and Campe of the Turkes, to the great disgrace and ignominy of Christianity. His Emprise, Daughters, and other Ladies after they were abused in their bodyes, were put to death in a most cruell and terrible manner.

Thus was that imperiall Citie lost, in the yeare 1453. May 29. when it had remained under the government of

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Christians, 1198. yeares. It is now the chiefe abode of the great Turke Sultan Achmet, the fiftene Grand Cham, of the line of Ottoman, who was then about twenty three yeares of age; whose sonne Osman since, and after his death, was murdered by the Janizaries, being 14. yeares of age, after his returne to Constantinople from Podolia in Poland: And in his place, his Unkle Mustaffa made Emperour, whose weaknesse and unworthinesse being eft soones discoverd, he was displaced, and Amurath Osmans brother made Grand Signior, who presently reigneth, and not without great feare of his Janizaries and Timariots, who twice in three yeares have lately made insurrection against him. This Emperour Achmet, who was alive when I was there, was more given to venery, then martialitie, which gave a greater advantage to the Persians in their defensive Warres.

The forme, or situation of this Citty, is like unto a Triangle. It is in compasse about the walles, esteemed to be eightene miles: in one of these triangled points, being the South-east part, and at the joyning of Bosphorus and Marmora, standeth the Pallace of the Great Turke, called Seraglio, and the Forrest wherein he hunteth; which is two miles in length.

The speciall object of Antiquity, I saw within this Citty, was the incomparable Church of Saint Sophia, now consecrate to Mahomet, after a diabolically manner.

Upon the West corner of the Citty, there is a strong Fortresse, fortified with seaven great Towers, and well furnished with Munition, called by Turkes, Yedi Kule: In this Prison, are Bassawes, and Subbassawes imprisoned, and also great men of Christians, if any offence be committed. Their place of Exchange is called Bezastan,

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wherein all sorts of commodities are to be sold; as Sattins, Silkes, Velvets, both of Silver and Gold, and the most exquisitely wrought Hand-kerchiefs, that can be found in the world; with infinite other commodities, the relation of which would be tedious.

I have seene men and women as usually sold here in Markets, as Horses and other beasts are with us: The most part of which are Hungarians, Transylvanians, Carinthians, Istrians, and Dalmatian Captives, and of other places besides, which they can overcome. Whom, if no compassionate Christian will buy, or relieve; then must they either turne Turke, or be addicted to perpetuall slavery. Here I remember of a charitable deede, done for a sinfull end, and thus it was; A Ship of Marseilles, called the great Dolphin, lying here forty dayes at the Galata, the Maister Gunner, named Monsieur Nerack, and I falling in familiar acquaintance, upon a time he told me secretly that he would gladly for Conscience and Merits sake, redeeme some poore Christian slave from Turkish Captivity. To the which, I applauded his advice, and told him the next Friday following I would assist him to so worthy an action: Friday comes, and he and I went for Constantinople, where the Market of the slaves being ready, we spent two houres in viewing, and reviewing five hundreth Males and Females. At last I pointed him to have bought an old man or woman, but his minde was contrary set, shewing me that he would buy some virgin, or young widdow, to save their bodies undefloured with Infidels. The price of a virgin was too deare for him, being a hundred Duckets, and widdows were farre under, and at an easier rate: When we did visite and search them that we were mindfull to buy, they were

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strip'd starke naked before our eyes, where the sweetest face, the youngest age, and whitest skin was in greatest value and request: The Jewes sold them, for they had bought them from the Turkes: At last we fell upon a Dalmatian widdow, whose pittifull lookes, and sprinkling teares, stroke my soule almost to the death for compassion: whereupon I grew earnest for her relief, and he yeelding to my advice, she is bought and delivered unto him, the man being 60. yeares of age, and her price 36. Duckets. We leave the market and came over again to Galata, where he and I tooke a Chamber for her, and leaving them there, the next morning I returned earely, suspecting greatly the dissembling devotion of the Gunner to be nought but luxurious lust, and so it proved: I knocked at the Chamber doore, that he had newly locked, and taken the key with him to the ship, for he had tarried with her all that night; and she answering me with teares, told me all the manner of his usage, wishing her selfe to be againe in her former captivity: whereupon I went a shipboord to him, & in my grieve I swore, that if he abused her any more after that manner, and not returned to her distresse, her Christian liberty; I would first make it knowne to his Maister the Captaine of the ship, and then to the French Ambassadour: for he was mindfull also, his lust being satisfied to have sold her over againe to some other: At which threatning the old Pallyard became so fearefull, that he entred in a reasonable condition with me, and the ship departing thence sixe dayes thereafter, he freely resigned to me her life, her liberty and freedome: which being done, and he gone, under my hand before divers Greekes, I subscribed her libertie, and hyr'd her in the same Taverne for a yeare, taking

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nothing from her, for as little had she to give me, except many blessings and thankfull prayers: This French Gunner was a Papist, and heere you may behold the dregs of his devotion, and what seven nights leachery cost him, you may cast up the reckoning of 36. Duckets.

In Constantinople there have happened many fearefull fires, which often hath consumed to ashes the most part of the rarest Monuments there, and the beauty of infinite Pallaces. And now lately in the yeare 1607. October 14. there were burned above 3000. houses, of which I saw a number of ruines (as yet) unrepaired. It is subject also to divers Earth quakes, which have often subverted the Towers, Houses, Churches, and Walles of the City to the ground. Especially in the yeare 1509. in the raigne of Bajazet, the ninth Emperour of the Turkes, in which time, more then 13000. persons were all smothered and dead, and laid up in heapes unburied. And commonly every third yeare, the pestilence is exceeding great in that City, and after such an odious manner; that those who are infected (before they die) have the halfe of their one side rot, and fall away: so that you may easily discern the whole intrailles of their bowels. It is not licentiated here, nor else where in all Turkey, that any Christian should enter in their Moskies, or Churches, without the conduct of a Janisary; the tryall whereof I had when I viewed that glorious and great Church of Sancta Sophia, once the beauty and ornament of all Europe; and is now the chiefe place, to which the Great Turke or Emperour goeth every Friday, their Sabboth day to doe his devotion, being accompanied with 3000. Janisaries, besides Bashawes, Chowses and Hagars.

Truely I may say of Constantinople,

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A painted Whoore, the maske of deadly sin,
Sweet faire without, and stinking foule within.

For indeed outwardly it hath the fairest show, and inwardly in the streets being narrow, and most part covered, the filthiest & deformed buildings in the world; the reason of its beauty, is, because being situate on moderate prospective heights, the universall textures, a farre off, yeeld a delectable show, the covertures being erected like the backe of a Coach after the Italian fashion with gutterd tyle. But being entred within, there is nothing but a stinking deformity, and a loathsome contrived place; without either internall domesticke furniture, or externall decorements of fabricks palatiatly extended. Notwithstanding that for its situation, the delicious wines, & fruits, the temperate climat, the fertile circumjacent fields, and for the Sea Marmora, and pleasant Asia on the other side: it may truely be called the Paradice of the earth.

Pera is over against Constantinople, a quarter of a mile distant, the Thraick Bosphore dividing the two. It is the place where the Ambassadors of Christendome lie. The number of the Christian Ambassadors that then lay there, and now doe, were these, first the Romane Emperours, then the French, the English, the Venetian, and lastly the Holland Ambassadors. With Noble Sir Thomas Glover, I was still domestick for 12. weekes, whose Secretary for that time was my Countrey man, Maister James Rollocke; he was the last Scotsman I saw till my returne to Malta after my departure from Constantinople.

And by the way, I cannot but regrave, the great losse Sir Thomas Glover received by the Duke of Moldavia,

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who chargeably entertained him two yeares in his house, and furnished him with great moneys, and other necessities fit for his eminency: This Duke or Prince of Bugdonia (Bukovina) was depraved of his Principalities by Achmet, and fled hither to the Christian Ambassadors for reliefe: To whom when all the rest had refus'd acceptance, onely Noble Sir Thomas received him, maintained him, and seriously wrought with the Grand Signiour and his Counsell, to have had him restored againe to his Lands, but could not prevaile.

In the end, Sir Thomas Glovers five yeares time of Ambassodry being expired, and the Duke hearing privately that Sir Paul Pinder was to come in his place, as indeede he came too soone: this Moldavian Prince stole earely away in the morning over to Constantinople; and long or midday turnd Turke, and was circumcised, contenting himselfe onely for all his great Dukedome, with a Palace, and a yearly pension of twelve thousand Chickens of Gold during his life. Which, when we heard, the Ambassadour, and we were all amazed and discontented: He was indebted to the Ambassadour above 15. thousand Chickens of Gold, yet or my leaving Galata, I went twice over with Sir Thomas, and saw him, and found him attended with a number of Turkes, who when he saw me, tooke me kindly by the hand, for we had bene two moneths familiar in the Ambassadors house before. The English Ambassador within halfe a yeare, recovered the halfe of his moneys, the other halfe he was forced to forgo for diverse importunate respects.

Nay, I must say one thing more of this Knight, he releevd more slaves from the Galleys, payd their ransomes, and sent them home freely to their Christian stations, and

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kept a better house, than any Ambassadour did, that ever lay at Constantinople, or ever shall to the worlds end. His mother was a Pollonian, who comming from Danzig to London, was delivered of him upon the Sea: Afterward he was brought up at Constantinople from a boy, and spoke, and wrot the Slavonian Tongue perfectly: And thence returning for London, he was the first Ambassador King James, of blessed Memory, sent to Constantinople, after his comming to the Crowne of England: And this much for this worthy and ever renowned Knight, whose prayse and fame I cannot too much celebrate.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Religion and Customs of the Turks



THE Turkes have no Bels in their Churches, neither the use of a clocke, nor numbring of houres, but they have high round Steeples, for they contrafact, and contradict all the formes of Christians: when they goe to pray, they are called together by the voyce of crying men, who goe upon the bartizings of their Steeples, shouting and crying with a shrill voyce: La illa, Eillalla, Mahomet Rezul allah, that is: God is a great God, and Mahomet is his Prophet, or otherwise there is but one God.

In Constantinople, and all other places of Turkey, I ever saw three Sabbathos together, in one weeke: The Friday for the Turkes, the Saturday for Jewes, and the Sunday for Christians: but the Turkes Sabbath is worst kept of all: for they will not spare to do any labour on their Holy Day. They have meetings at their publicke Prayers, every day five severall times: the first is, before the rising of the Sunne: The second is, a little before midday: The third is, at three of the clocke in the afternoone: The fourth is, at the Sunne-setting, Sommer and Winter: Fifthly, the last howre of Prayer, is alwayes two or three howres within night. Many of them will watch till that time, and not sleepe; and others sleeping, will awake at the voyce of the Cryer, and go to Church.

In signe of reverence, and in a superstitious devotion, before they go into their Mosques, they wash themselves in a Lavatoio, beginning at the privy members, next their mouthes, faces, feete and hands: And entring, they incline their heads downeward to the earth; and falling on their knees, do kisse the ground three times. Then the Tala-

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sumany, which is the chiefe Priest, mounteth upon a high stone, where he maketh many Orations to Mahomet: and the rest to assist him, continue a long time shaking their heads, as though they were out of all their naturall understanding, repeating oft this word Haylamo, Haylamo; and after that will sigh grievously, saying, Houpek. And sometimes will abruptly sing the Psalmes of David in the Arabick tongue, but to no sense, nor verity of the Scriptures. And at their devotion, they will not tolerate any women in their company, lest they should withdraw their minds and affections from their present zeale: But the men observe their turnes and times, and the women theirs, going alwayes when they goe, either of them alone to their devotion: The like custome, but not after the same manner have I seene observed among the Protestants in Transylvania, Hungaria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia, who when they come to Church on the Sabbath day, there is a Taffaty Curtaine drawne from the Pulpit to the Church wall over against it: The men sitting on the right hand of the Preacher, the women on the left; whose eyes and faces cannot see other during divine Service, save only the Minister that over-toppeth both sides; and truly me thought it was a very modest, and necessary observation.

The Turks are generally circumcised after the manner of the Jewes, but not after 8. dayes, but after 8. yeares. The Church men are called Darvises, who weare on their heads greene Shashes, to make distinction betweene them and others: for they are accounted to be of Mahomets kindred.

They hold all mad men in great reverence, as Prophets or Saints, & if they intend any far journey, privat purposes, or otherwise, before they go to battell, they come to crave counsell of these Santones, to know if they shall prosper,

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or not, in their attempts. And whatsoever answer these Bedleem Prophets give, it is holden to be so credible, as if an Oracle had spoken it.

All Turkes do detest the colour of blacke, and thinke those that weare it, shall never enter into Paradise: But the colour of greatest request among them is greene; where-with if any Christian be apparrelled, he shall be sure of Bastinadoes, and other punishments: Neither may he use the name of their Prophet Mahomet in his mouth, (under the paine of a cruell censure to be inflicted upon him) whom they so much adore, and honour.

This Mahomet was borne, Anno Dom. 591. in Itra-ripia, a beggarly Village in Arabia, whose father was Abdillas, an Ismaelite; and his mother Cadiges, a Jew; both different in Religion, and also of diverse Countries: In his youth he was partly taught the Judaicall Law, and partly the superstition of the Gentiles. Many alleadge his parentage was never knowne (being so base) untill his riper years bewrayed the same, I also learned that his Parents dyed whiles he was a young child, and was turned over to his Unckle, who afterward sold him to one Abde-minoples, a Merchant in Palestina: And he, after a little time, having remarked his ready and prompt wit, sent him downe to Ægypt, to be a Factor in his Merchandise; where, by his dissimulate behaviour, he crept in favour with Christians, Jewes, and Gentiles. He was in proportion of a meane stature, lively faced, big-headed, eloquent in language, of a sanguinical complexion, and a couragious stomacke, in all attempts exceeding desperate: he was also deceitfull, variant, and fradulent, as may appeare in his Satanicall Fables, expressed in his Alcoran, where oft one saying contradicteth another, both in words, and effect.

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About this time there was one Sergius, an Italian borne, banished from Constantinople, because he allowed of the Arian sect; who afterward came to Palestine, and frequenting the house of Abdeiminoples, fell in acquaintance with the young man Mahomet; and this Frier perceiving the aspiring quicknes of his braine, bore a great affection to his naturall perfections. Shortly after this, his Maister dying without heires, and his Mistresse enjoying many rich possessions; she, for these his extraordinary qualities, from the degree of a Servant, advanced him to be her owne Husband.

That unhappy match was no sooner done but she repented it with teares: for he being subject to the falling sicknesse, would often fall flat on the ground before her, staring, gaping, and foaming at the mouth; so that his company became loathsome and detestable. The which begun contempt in his bed-fellow; being to him manifested, he strove (under the shaddow of invented lies) to mitigate the fury of her hatefull disdaine; faining, and attesting, that when he fell to the ground, it was the great God spoke with him, before whose face (sayth he) I am not able to stand; such is the solíciting of me, with words of terrour and Majesty, to reforme the wayes of the degenerate people with fire, and sword; sith Moses and Christ (notwithstanding of their miracles) have beene rejected by the world. The old Trot, believing all these flattering speeches, was not onely appeased of her former conceit, but also loving him more then a husband, revered him for a divine Prophet; imparting the same unto her neighbours and gossips. After they had lived two yeares together, the bewitched Matron dying, left all her possessions to Mahomet; both because she accounted him to be a Prophet, and next for that loving regard she had

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of his tender body, being but 30. yeares of age. He being thus left with great riches, was puffed up in pride, and haughty desires, striving by all inordinate meanes, to bring his new devised plots to perfection. For the better performance whereof, he consulted with this Sergius a Nestorian Monk, and Atodala another Thalmudist, a diverted Jew; hereupon these two helhounds, and the other perverſt Runagate, patched up a most monstrous, and divelliſh Religion to themselves, and to their miscreant beleivers; partly composed of the Judaicall law, partly of Arrianisme, partly intermixed with some points of Christianity; and partly of other fantastick fopperies, which his owne invention suggested unto him.

This new coyned doctrine, was no sooner wrapt up in his execrable Alcoran, but he began to spit forth his abominable and blasphemous heresies: Affirming, that Christ was not the sonne of the most high, nor that Messiah looked for; denying also the Trinity with many other prophane blasphemies. The worke concluded, for the better advancement of his purpose, he married the daughter of the chiefe Prince of his owne tribe: By which new affinity, he not only seduced his Father in law, but also the whole lineage of that family; by whose acceptance, and conversion, he also confederated with other associates, and waxed dayly stronger. Contending continually to divulgate his name, aye more and more, he assembled his new Alcoranists: exhorting them to assist him in the besieging of Mecca, which Citizens had in derision rebuked his law, and absolutely disdained his Mahometanicall illusions: and promised to them, in such a well deserving attempt, both eternall felicity, and the spoiles of these his contradictors; persuasively assuring them,

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that God would deliver all the gaine-sayers of his Alcoran into his hands. By which allurements they being moved, rose to the number of 3000. in Armes, and menaced Mecca, but the Citizens put him to flight, and so was he thrice served; till in the end he wonne their City: wherein after his death he was intombed in an Iron Coffin: Which betweene two Adamants hangeth to this day (as I have been informed of sundry Turkes, who saw it) which confirmed in them a solid believe of his erronious doctrine.

But now of late the Turkes growing more circumspect then they were, and understanding the derision of Christians concerning their hanging Tombe, and because the Turkish Pilgrimes were often suffocate to death, with a fabulous desert in going to Mecca; they have transported Mahomets Tombe now to Medina; which is a great deale nearer to Damascus, and at the entry of Arabia *foelix*; in a glorious Mosque, where the Tombe being close ground set, and richly covered with a golden Canopy; they have inhibited that any Christian shall come neare to it by two courses, to wit. twenty foure miles, under the payne of death: which indeed they keepe more strictly in execution, then Princely Proclamations are obeyed with us.

I have seene sometimes two thousand Turkes travelling to Mecca, in Pilgrimage; which is in Arabia *felix*: where many in a superstitious devotion, having seene the Tombe of Mahomet, are never desirous to see the vanities of the World againe: For in a franticke piety they cause a Smith to pull forth their eyes: And these men are called afterward Hoggeis, that is, Holy men, whom the Turkes much honour, and regard: and are alwayes led about from towne to towne by mens hands, and fed, and regarded like unto

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Princes; or like the Capushines that scourge themselves on good Friday, met, and homaged at every passing Streete, with prayers, gifts, and adorations.

Mahomet, chiefly prohibiteth in his Alcoran, the eating of Swines flesh, and drinking of Wine, which indeed the best sort do, but the baser kind are dayly drunkards: Their common drinke is Sherpet, composed of Water, Honey, and Sugar, which is exceeding delectable in the taste: And the usuall courtesie, they bestow on their friends, who visite them, is a Cup of Coffa, made of a kind of seed called Coava, and of a blackish colour; which they drinke so hote as possible they can, and is good to expell the crudity of raw meates, and hearbes, so much by them frequented. And those that cannot attaine to this liquor, must be contented with the cooling streames of water.

It is incident to Turkes, which have not the generosity of mind to temper felicity, to be gluttoned with the superfluous fruites of doubtfull prosperity. Neither have they a patient resolution to withstand adversity, nor hope to expect the better alteration of time. But by an infused malice in their wicked spirits, when they are any way calamited, will with importunate compulsion, cause the poore slavish subjected Christians, surrender all they have, the halfe, or so forth, sometimes with strokes, menacings, and sometimes death it selfe; which plainely doth demonstrate their excessive cruelty, and the poore Christians inevitable misery. And yet being complained upon, they are severely punished, or else put to death, for committing of such unallowable Ryots, being expresly against the Imperiall Law of the Turke, concerning the quietnesse and liberty of the Christians.

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I have often heard Turkes brawle one with another, most vilely, but I never saw, or heard, that they either in private or publicke quarrels, durst strike one another, neither dare they for feare of severe punishment, imposed to such quarrellors: But they will injure and strike Christians, who dare not say it is amisse, or strike againe. It is a common thing with them, to kill their servants for a very small offence, and when they have done, throw them like dogges in a ditch. And oftentimes (if not so) will lay them downe on their backs, hoysing up their hecles, bind their feete together, and fasten them to a post, and with a cudgell give them three or foure hundreth blowes on the soles of their feete: Whereupon peradventure, some ever go lame after. Their servants are bought and sold, like brute beasts in Markets; neither can these miserable drudges ever recover liberty, except they buy themselves free, either by one meane or other. Their wives are not farre from the like servitude, for the men by the Alcoran, are admitted to marry as many women as they will, or their ability can keepe. And if it shall happen, that any one of these women (I meane either wife or Concubine) prostituteth her selfe to an other man besides her husband; then may he, by authority, bind her hands and feete, hang a stone about her necke, and cast her into a River, which by them is usually done in the night.

But when these Infidels please to abuse poore Christian women against their husbands will, they little regard the transgression of the Christian Law; who as well defloure their daughters, as their wives; yet the devout Mahometans never meddle with them, accompting themselves damned to copulate (as they thinke) with the offspring of dogges. The Turkes generally, when they commit

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any copulation with Christians, or their owne sexe, they wash themselves in a South running fountaine, before the Sun rising, thinking thereby to wash away their sinnes.

If a Turke should happen to kill another Turke, his punishment is thus; after he is adjudged to death, he is brought forth to the market place, and a block being brought hither of foure foote high, the malefactor is stripd naked; and then layd thereupon with his belly downeward, they drawe in his middle together so small with running cords, that they strike his body a two with one blow: his hinder parts they cast to be eaten by hungry dogges kept for the same purpose; and the forequarters and head they throw into a grievous fire, made there for the same end: and this is the punishment for man-slaughter.

But for murder or treason he is more cruelly used, for being convicted & condemned, he is brought forth before the people, where in the street there is an exceeding high Stripad erected, much like to a May-pole: which tree from the roote, till it almost come to the top, is all set about full of long sharpe iron pikes, and their poynts upward: The Villaine being strip'd naked, and his hands bound backward, they bind a strong rope about his shoulders and cleavings: And then hoysing him up to the pillow or top of the tree, they let the rope flee loose, whence downe he falls with a rattle, among the iron pykes, hanging either by the buttocks, by the breasts, by the sides, or shoulders; and there sticking fast in the ayre, he hangeth till his very bones rot and fall downe, and his body be devoured being quicke, with ravenous Eagles, kept to prey upon his carkas for the same purpose.

But now I come to their nuptiall rites, their custome and manner of marriage is thus: If a man affecteth a

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yong mayd, he buyeth her of her parents, and giveth a good summe of money for her, and after she is bought, he enrolles her name in the Cadies Booke, witnessing she is his bound wife, bought of her father. Loe, this is all the forme of their marriage: This being done, the father of the woman sendeth houshold-stuffe home with the Bride; which is carried through the streets on Mulets or Camells backes, the two new married folkes marching before, are conveyed with musicke, their owne acquaintance, and friends unto his house.

The Turkes in generall, whensoever they loath or dislike their wives, use to sell them in markets, or otherwise bestow them on their men-slaves: And although their affection were never so great towards them, yet they never eate together, for commonly the women stand, and serve their husbands at meate, and after that, they eate a part by themselves, secretly; without admission of any mankind in their company, if they be above foureteene yeares of age. They goe seldome abroad, unlesse it be each Thursday at night, when they goe to the Graves to mourne for the dead, alwayes covering their faces, very modestly with white or blacke masks, which are never uncovered, till they returne to their houses. Many other ceremonies they have, which would be too prolix for me to recite. And notwithstanding of all this externall gravity, amongst these hirelings, yet there are in Constantinople above 40000. brothel-houses, Turqueski as Libertines; in any of which, if a Christian (especially Francks) be apprehended, he must either turne Turke, or Slave all his life: But the women by policy apply a counter-poyson to this severity, for they accustomedly come to the Chambers of their Benefactors and well-willers, or

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other places appointed secretly, whereso they learne either a French Syncopa, or an Italian Bergamasko.

As for the great Turkes Concubines, they are of number eight hundred, being the most part Emeeres, Bashawes, and Timariots daughters: The third and inmost part of the Seraglia is allotted for their residence, being well attended at all times with numbers of Eunuches, and other gelded officers: Every morning they are ranked in a great Hall, and set on high and open seats: where when he commeth, and selecting the youngest and fairest, he toucheth her with a rod; and immediately she followeth him into his cabine of leachery, where if any action be done, shee receiveth from the Head-Clarke her approbation thereupon, which ever afterwards serveth her for a conditionall dowry to her marriage, with much honour and reputation besides: And if any of them conceive, and the child borne, it is suddenly dispatched from this life: The oldest hundreth, every first Friday of the moneth are turned out, and another new hundred come in to make good the number: Their entrie and issue is alwayes at one of the posterne gates of the Parke, towards the sea side, and joyning nigh to their Pallace: Whence crossing Bosphore, in an appointed barge, they both goe and come in one day, from and to the Galata, which I my selfe did see three several times: The oldest and last hundred that are every moneth dismissed, they depart from the Galata, home to their Parents and severall Countreys, rejoycing that they were counted worthy to be chosen and entertained to be their Emperours Concubines.

The custome of the great Turke is, every Friday being their Sabbath day after divine service and dinner, to run at the Glove in a open place before all the people,

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with some Hagars, or yong striplings that accompany him; who have the Glove hanging as high on a sticke, as we have the ring with us: And truely of all the Turkish Emperours that ever were, this Achmet was the most gentle & favourable to Christians; who rather for his bounty and tendernesse might have beene intitulated the Christian Emperour, then the Pagane King: for he dissanulled all the exactions that had beene inflicted by his predecessors upon his tributarie Christian subjects; and cancelled the custome or tythe of their Male children, abrogating also that imposition on their Female dowries.

They have this sinister opinion, that at the day of Judgement, when Mahomet shall appeare, there shall be three displayed Banners, under the which all good people shall be conducted to Paradise: The one of Moses, under the which the children of Israel shall be: The second of Jesus, under which Christians shall be: The third of Mahomet, under the which shall be the Arabs, Turkes, and Musilmans: All which, they thinke, shall be elevated to severall honours; and they in promotion shall be discerned from the rest, by Chambers made of resplendant light, which God will give them; wherein they shall have banquetings, feastings, dancing, and the best melody can be devised; and that they shall spend their times with amorous Virgins, (whose mansion shall be neare by) the men never exceeding the age of thirty yeares, and the Virgines fifteene, and both shall have their Virginities renewed, as fast, as lost.

As concerning their opinion of Hell, they hold it to be a deepe Gulfe, betwixt two Mountaines: from the mouth whereof are Dragons, that continually throw fire, being large eight leagues, and hath a darke entry, where

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the horrible Fiends meete the perplexed sinners, conveying them till they come to a bridge, that is so narrow as the edge of a Razor: whereupon these who have not committed haynous offences, may passe over to Hell, but those who have done Buggery (as the most part of them do) and homicide, shall fall headlong from it, to the profoundest pit in Hell, where they shall sometimes burne in fire, & sometimes be cast into hot boyling waters to be refreshed. And for the greater punishment of the wicked (say they) God hath planted a tree in Hell named the head of the Divell, upon the fruit of which, the damned continually feed: Mahomet in one of the Chapters of his Alcoran calleth this tree, the Tree of Malediction.

They also thinke the tormented soules may one day be saved, providing they do indure the scorching flames of Hell patiently. Thus, as briefly as I could, have I layd open the opinions of the Turkes, concerning their Heaven and Hell, before the eyes of these, who peradventure have never bene acquainted with such a ghostly Discourse.

The Turkes which are borne and bred in the lesser Asia, and East parts of Europe, are generally well complexioned, proportionably compacted, no idle nor superfluous talkers, servile to their grand Signior, excessively inclined to Venery, and zealous in Religion: Their heads are alwayes shaven, reserving onely one tuft in the top above, by which they thinke one day to be caught to Heaven by Mahomet, and covered on all sides, counting it an opprobrious thing to see any uncover his head, they weare their Beards long, as a signe of gravity, for they esteeme them to be wise men, who have long beards: The women are of a low stature, thicke and round of growth, going seldome abroad (unlesse it be each Thurs-

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day at night, when they go to mourne upon the graves of their dead friends) and then they are modestly masked: they are fearefull and shame-fast abroad, but lascivious within doores, and pleasing in matters of incontinency; and they are accounted most beautifull, who have the blackest browes, the widest mouthes, and the greatest eyes.

The other Turkes which are borne in Asia major, and Ægypt, (I speake not of the Moores of Barbary) are of a greater stature, tanny, cruell, a barbarous and uncivill people. The better sort use the Slavonian tongue, the vulgar speake the Turkish language, which being originally the Tartarian speech, they borrow from the Persian their words of state, from the Arabicke, their words of Religion, from the Grecians, their termes of warre, and from the Italian their words and titles of navigation.

The puissance of the great Turke is admirable, yet the most part of his Kingdomes in Asia, are not well inhabited, neither populous, but these parts which border with Christians, are strongly fortified with Castles, people, and munition: If Christian Princes could concord, and consult together, it were an easie thing in one yeare, to subdue the Turkes, and roote out their very names from the earth; yea, moreover I am certified, that there are moe Christians, even slaves and subjects to the great Turke, which do inhabite his dominions, then might overthrow and conquer these Infidells, if they had worthy Captaines, Governours and furniture of Armes, without the helpe of any Christian of Christendome.

And yet againe, I thinke it not amisse to discourse more particularly of the Turkish manners, of their riches, and of their forces of warres, and the manner of their con-ducements.

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The Turkes being naturally discended of the Scythians or Tartars, are of the second stature of man, and robust of nature, circumspect and courageous in all their attempts, and no way given to industry or labour, but are wonderfull avaritious and covetous of money above all the nations of the world. They never observe their promises, unlesse it be with advantage, and are naturally prone to deceive strangers; changing their conditionall bargaines as time giveth occasion to their liking: They are humble one to another, but especially to their superiours, before whom they doe not onely great homage, but also keepe great silence, and are wonderfull coy during the time of their presence: They are extreameley inclined to all sorts of lascivious luxury; and generally adicted, besides all their sensuall and incestuous lusts, unto Sodomy, which they account as 'a daynty to digest all their other libidinous pleasures. They hold that every one hath the houre of his death wrot on his fore-brow, and that none can escape, the good or evill houre predestinated for them: This ridiculous error makes them so bold and desperate, yea, and often, to runne headlong in the most inevitable dangers: They are not much given to domesticke pastimes, as Chesse, Cards, Dice, and Tables, but abroad and in travell, they are exceeding kind disposers of their meate and drinke to any stranger without exception: The better sort of their women, are sumptuously attyred, and adorned with pearles and precious stones, and some of them are accustomed to turne their hands and haire into a red colour, but especially the nayles of their hands and feete; and are wont to go to bathe themselves in Stoves twice a weeke, as well as men.

The true Turkes weare on their heads white Turbanes,

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save a few that are esteem'd to be of Mahomets kinred, and they weare greene Shashes, being most part of them Priests: the better part of the Turkes in Asia, care not for fish, but these Turkes which remaine in Europe love fish better then flesh, especially at Constantinople or Stambolda, where the best fishes and most abundance of them are taken, that be in the world, and that in the blacke Sea: They are ever desirous to seeke advantage on their neighbours, which if they cannot by force, they will under colour of truce, accomplish it with perfidiousnesse. And if their interprises, finde no happy event, they are never a whit ashamed to take the flight, yet are they generally good souldiers, and well taught in martiall discipline: Their Armies in marching, or camping (notwithstanding infinite multitudes) keepe modestie and silence, and are extreamey obedient unto their Captaines and Commanders: When the great Signior is abroad with his armie at warres, the Turkes at home within Townes, use great prayers, and fasting for him and them: They ingeniously describe the victories of their Ancestours, and joyfully sing them in rimes and songs; thinking thereby that fashion in recalling the valiant deeds of their predecessours, to be the onely meane to encourage their souldiers to be hardy, resolute and desperate in all their interprises: They are not given to contemplation, nor studdy of Letters or Arts; yet they have divers faire Schooles, where the publicke lecture of their legall Lawes are professed, and Mahometanisme; to the intent that Children, being elected to be brought up there for a nones, may be instructed, to be profitable expounders of their Alcoran, and judicious Judges for the government of the Common-wealth: It is seldome, and rarely seene, that a Turke will speake with

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a woman in the streets; nay, not so much as in their Mosques one to be in sight of another; and yet they are Lords and Masters of their Wives and Concubines, from whom they receive as great respect, service and honour, as from their bond and bought slaves.

Now as concerning his riches, the chiefest three parts of Commerce of all kind of merchandise, and abounding in silver and gold in all the Turkes dominions, as well in Asia, and Africa, as Europe, are these, Constantinople: Aleppo in Syria; and grand Cayro: for these draw the whole riches, money and trafficke to them of all the Imperiall Provinces: It is thought that ordinarily and annually the rent of the great Turke amounteth to sixteene millions of gold, notwithstanding that some doe make it lesser because it is so hard to judge of any Monarchs rents. And yet the great Turkes revenewes, are no way answerable to his great & large dominions: The causes arising hereupon are many, of whom I will select three or foure of the chiefest reasons: First the Turkes being more given to armes, to conquer, to destroy and ruine, and to consume the wealth of the people they overcome, leaving them destitute, of nuriture; rather then any way to give course for their encreasing and stablishing of traffique, out of which should flow the royall advantages. And the reason why they keepe their subjects poore, and frustrate themselves of great profits: is only to weaken, and enfeeble them, whereby they should not have wherewith to move insurrection or rebellion against them. And on the other part, the Greekes are as unwilling to be industrious in Arts, trafficke or cultivage; seeing what they possesse is not their owne, but is taken from them at all occasions, with tyranny &

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oppression. For what gaines the sower, if another reape the profit; So in the Ottomans estate, there be great Forrests, and desartuous Countries; proceeding of the scarcity of people to inhabit there, the multitudes being drawne from Asia, to strengthen the frontiers of his dominions in Europe.

And besides there is another reason of the dispopulosity of these parts; to wit, when the great Turkes Army, is to march to a farre Countrey to make warres, then must their vulgar subdued peasants, perhaps twenty or thirty thousands go along with them, to carry their victuals, and all manner of provision, being taken from the plough, and constrained to this servitude, and notwithstanding the halfe of them never returne againe: Partly, because of the change of food, and aire, and partly because of their long travell and insupportable service, both in heate and cold: And to these of the first reason, there is another perpendicular cause; to wit, that the whole commerce of all commodities in Turkey, is in the hands of Jewes, and Christians, to wit, Ragusans, Venetians, English, French, and Flemings, who so warily menage their businesse, that they enjoy the most profits of any trading there, dissappointing the Turkes owne subjects of their due, and ordinary trafficke.

The last and most principall reason is, which is a great deale of more importance than his Revenues; to wit, the great number of his Timars: for the Turkish Emperours; being immediate Maisters of the lands they overcome, they divide the same in Timars or commandements: leaving little or nothing at all to the auncient Inhabitants; they dispose upon these proportions, to valerous Soulders, that have done good service: And with this condition,

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that they mainetaine, and have alwayes in readinesse Horses for the warres: which is an excellent good order for the preservation of his Empire; for if these Timariots were not rewarded, with such absolute possessions of parcell grounds, the state of his power would suddenly runne to ruine: for the profit of which lands, maintaining themselves, their horses, and their families, maketh them the more willing to concurre in the infallible service of their Emperour: These Timars or grounds, entertaine through all his Dominions, about two hundreth and fifty thousand horses, that are ever in readinesse to march at the first advertisement, without any charges to the great Signior, being bound to maintaine themselves in during the warres: And yet these Timariots, and their horses, cannot yearly be maintained under the value of ten Millions of Gold: The consideration whereof, makes me astonished, when I recall, the relations of some ragged Authors, who dare compare the Great Turkes Revenues unto our petty Princes of Christendome.

This establishment of Timars, and the by-past election of Azamglians, or young children to be made Jannisaries have bene the two strong Foundations, that supported so inviolably the Turkish Empire. As for the Turkish Cavalrie, they sustaine two important effects, first they keepe under awe and subjection, the great Turks subjects, who otherwise perhaps wold revolt: And next they are ordained for any dependant interprise for field Garisons, yea, and the principall sinewes of the warres: and yet the election of the grand Signior, lieth most in the hands of the Janizaries, who can not perfectly say he is Emperour before they confirme him in his Throne.

The Turkes have three things in their Armies which

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are very fearefull, to wit, the infinite number of men, great discipline, and force of Munition: As for discipline, they are not onely governed with great silence, and obedience, but they are ruled also with signes of the eye, and being tractable, they are tied to maine conducements: And although their multitudes have often bred confusion to them, so that little Armies have broke and overcome them, yet in their flight they are so cautulous, that a small number can do them no absolute violence nor finall overthrow: for as they assaile, so they flye without feare.

The Turkes have a custome, when they are maisters of any Province, to exterminate all the native Nobility, chiefly these of the blood-royall of the Countrey: And neverthesse they permit to all and every one of theirs to live and follow his owne Religion as he pleaseth without violence or constraint.

Amongst the Turkes there is noe Gentility, nor Nobility, but are all as ignoble and inferiour members, to one maine body the great Turke, lineally descending of the house of Ottoman: whose magnificence, puissance, and power is such, that the most eloquent tongue cannot sufficiently declare: His thousands of Janisaries, Shouses, and others dayly attending him: which are the nerves and sinewes of the Warlike body of his whole Monarchy and imperiall estate: His hundreds (besides his Queene) of Concubines, hourelly maintained by his meanes, and monethly renewed: His Armies, Bashawes, Emeeres, Vizier-bashawes, Sanzacks, Garrisons, and Forces here and there dispersed amongst his dominions, would be impossible for me briefly to relate. The inhumane policy of the Turkes, to avoid civill dissention is such, that the seede of Ottoman (all except one of them) are strangled

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to death: Wherefore, as Augustus Cæsar said of Herod in the like case, it is better to be the great Turkes dogge, then his Sonne. His Daughters or Sisters are not so used, but are given in marriage to any Bassa, whom so they affect; yet with this condition; the King saith to his Daughter, or Sister, I give thee this man to be thy slave; and if he offend thee in any case, or be disobedient to thy will, here I give thee a Dagger to cut off his head; which alwaies they weare by their sides for the same purpose.

The Persians differ much from the Turkes, in nobility, humanity, and activity, and especially in points of Religion: who by contention thinke each other accursed; and notwithstanding both factions are under the Mahometanick Lawe. Neither are the Sonnes of the Persian Kings, so barbarously handled, as theirs; for all the brethren (one excepted) are onely made blind, wanting their eyes, and are alwayes afterward gallantly maintained, like Princes. And it hath oftentimes fallen out, that some of these Kings, dying without procreate Heires; there have of these blind sonnes succeeded to the Empire, who have restored againe the seed of that Royall family.

And now the great advantage, that the Turkes have dayly upon the Persians, is onely because of their Infanterie, which the Persians no wayes are accustomed with, fighting alwayes on Horse-backe; neither are the Persians adicted or given to build Forts, or Fortifications, neither have they any great use of Munition, but exposing themselves ever to the field in the extreame hazard of battell, become ever doubtfull in their victories: whose courage and valour cannot be paraleld among all the people of the Easterne world, as Babylon in their late and last fortunes may give sufficient testimony thereof.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Voyage to Syria



THE Winter expired, & the Spring gone, time summoned me after three moneths repose, having dutifully taken my Counge of many worthy friends, especially, the afore-sayd English Ambassadour, Sir Thomas Glover: And the new Ambassadour, Sir Paul Pinder, who had lately arrived there before my departure, and had bene formerly Consull in Aleppo five yeares.

I left Constantinople, and imbarked in a Ship belonging to London, named the Allathya, whereof one Maister Wylds in Ratcliffe was Maister; where indeed both he and his Company kindly and respectively used me, for the space of twelve daies; being bound for Smyrna.

From this Citie (having left my kind English men and their stately ship that carryed 24. pieces of Ordonance,) I imbarked in a Turkish Carmoesalo, that carried nothing but her loading, being bound for Rhodes. In our sayling I saw the little Ile Opidusa, where the Turkes told me, that all the Ilanders were naturally good swimmers, paying no more tribute to their great Lord the Turke, save onely once in the yeare there are certaine men, and women chosen by a Turkish Captaine, who must swimme a whole league right out in the Sea, and goe downe to the bottom of the waters, to fetch thence some token they have got ground: And if they shall happen to faile in this, the Iland will be reduced againe to pay him yearely rent. This I saw with mine eyes, whiles we being calmed, there came a man and two women swimming to us, more then a mile of way, carrying with them (drie above the water) baskets of fruite to sell, the which made me not a little

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to wonder. For when they came to the ships side, they would neither boord, nor boat with us, but lay leaning, or as it were resting them selves on the sea, upon their one side, and sold so their fruits: keeping complements and discourses with us above an houre. Contenting them for their ware, and a fresh gale arising, we set forward, accoasting the little Ile of Samothracia,¹ called now by the Turkes Samandracho; And upon the ninth day after our departure from Smyrna, we arrived at the City of Rhodes, so called of the Iland wherein it standeth.

This Ile of Rhodes within the space of 25. yeares was three times mightily indangered by violent and extreame impetuosities of raine: in such sort that the last flood did drowne the greatest part of the Inhabitants: which beginning in the Spring-time, did continue to Summer, and in all this time, it broke violently downe their houses, and in the night killed the people lying in their beds; and in the day time such as were sheltered under safegard of their dwellings: which was a miserable destruction and the like of it scarcely heard of since the universall deludge. The Fortresse of Rhodes, and that Fortresse Famagusta, in Cyprus, are the two strongest holds, in all the Empire of the great Turke.

And by the way here I must record, that if the great Turke, and his great Counsell, were not good pay-masters to their Janizaries, and speedy rewarders of their common Souldiers; it were impossible for him the Emperour, or them the Bassawes to menage so great a state, and to keepe under obedience so head-strong a multitude, & such turbulent forces.

¹ From the context this cannot be the classical Samothrace: Samandracho may be identified with s' Mandraki, the ancient Nisyros.

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After I had contented the Master for my freight, and victuals (who as he was an Infidell, used me with great exaction) I found a Barke purposed to Cyprus, with the which I imbarked, being foure hundred miles distant. We boorded close along the coast, sustaining many great dangers, both of tempestuous stormes, and invasions of damnable Pirats, who gave us divers assaults to their owne disadvantages; our saylage being swifter. Twelve dayes was I betweene Rhodes and Limasol in Cyprus; where arrived, I received more gracious demonstrations from the Ilanders, then I could hope for, or wish, being farre beyond my merit or expectation.

The people are generally strong and nimble, of great civility, hospitality to their neighbours, and exceedingly affectionated to strangers. The second day after my arrival, I tooke with me an Interpreter, and went to see Nicosia, which is placed in the midst of the Kingdome. But in my journey thither, extreame was the heate and thirst I endured; both in respect of the season, and also want of water: And although I had with me sufficiency of Wine, yet durst I drinke none thereof, being so strong, and withall had a tast of pitch; and that is, because they have no barrels, but great Jarres made of earth, wherein their Wine is put. And these Jarres are all inclosed within the ground save onely their mouthes, which stand alwayes open like to a Source or Cisterne; whose insides are all interlarded with pitch to preserve the earthen vessells unbroke a sunder, in regard of the forcible Wine; yet making the taste thereof unpleasant to liquorous lips; and turneth the Wine, too headdy for the braine in digestion, which for health groweth difficult to strangers; and to themselves a swallowing up of diseases.

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This Ile of Cyprus yeeldeth infinite canes of Sugar, Cotten-wooll, Oyle, Honney, Cornes, Turpentine, Allum, Verdegreece, Grogranes, store of Mettals and Salt; besides all other sorts of fruit and commodities in abundance. It was also named Cerastis, because it butted toward the East with one horne: and lastly Cyprus, from the abundance of Cypresse trees there growing. I was informed by some of sound experience here, that this Kingdome containeth about eight hundreth and forty Villages, besides the sixe capitall Townes, two whereof are nothing inferiour for greatnesse and populosity to the best Townes in Candy, Sicily, or Greece.

The chieftest and highest mountaine in this Ile, is by the Cypriots called Troodos, it is of height eight, and of compasse forty eight miles, whereon there are a number of Religious Monasteries, the people whereof are called Colieros, and live under the order of Sainte Basile. There is abundance here of Coriander seede, with medicinable Reubarbe, and Turpentine. Here are also mines of gold in it, of Chrysocole, of Calthante, of Allome, Iron, and exceeding good Copper. And besides these mines, there are diverse precious stones found in this Ile, as Emeraulds, Diamonds, Chrystall, Corall, red and white, and the admirable stone Amiante, whereof they make Linnen cloth, that will not burne being cast into the fire, but serveth to make it neate and white.

The greatest imperfection of this Ile, is scarcity of water, and too much plenty of scorching heate, and fabulous grounds. The Inhabitants are very civill, courteous, and affable; and notwithstanding of their delicious and delicate fare, they are much subject to Melancholy, of a Robust nature, and good Warriours, if they might

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carry Armes: It is recorded, that in the time of Constantine the Great, this Ile was all utterly abandoned of the Inhabitants, and that because it did not raine for the space of sixe and thirty yeares. After which time, and to replant this Region againe, the chieftest Colonies came from Ægypt, Judea, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphilia, Thracia, and certaine Territories of Greece: And it is thought, in the yeare 1163. after that Guy of Lusignan, the last Christian King of Jerusalem had lost the Holy Land, a number of French men, stayed and inhabited here; of whom sprung the greatest race of the Cyprian Gentility.

The three Iles of Cyprus, Crete, and Sicily, are the onely Monarchicke Queenes of the Mediterranean Seas: and semblable to other in fertility, length, breadth, and circuit: save onely Crete that is somewhat more narrow then the other two, and also more Hilly and sassinous: yet for Oyles and Wines, she is the Mother of both the other: Sicily being for Graine and Silkes the Empresse of all: and Cyprus for Sugar and Cotton-wooll, a darling sister to both; onely Sicily being the most civill Ile, and nobly gentilitat, the Cypriots indifferently good, and the Cretans the most ruvid of all.

In my returne from Nicosia, to Famagusta, with my Trench-man, we encountered by the way with foure Turkes, who needs would have my Mule to ride upon; which my Interpreter refused: But they in a revenge, pulled me by thee heeles from the Mules backe, beating me most pittifully, and left me almost for dead. In this meanewhile my companion fled, and escaped the sceleratnesse of their hands; and if it had not beene for some compassionable Greekes, who by accident came by, and relieved me, I had doubtlesse immediately perished.

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I remember betweene this Ile and Sidon that same Summer, there were five galleouns of the Duke of Florence, who encountred by chance the Turkes great Armado consisting of 100. gallies, 14. galleots, and two galleasses:, The Admirall of which ships did single out her selfe from the rest, and offered to fight with the whole Armado alone; but the Turkes durst not, and in their flying backe, the Admirall sunke two of their gallies; and had almost seized upon one of their galleasses, if it had not beene for 20. gallies, who desperatly adventured to row her away against the wind and so escaped.

For true it is, the naturall Turkes were never skilfull in menaging of Sea battells, neither are they expert Mariners, nor experimented Gunners, if it were not for our Christian Runnagates, French, English, and Flemings, and they too sublime, accurate, and desperate fellowes; who have taught the Turkes the airt of navigation, and especially the use of munition; which they both cast to them, & then become their chiefe Cannoniers; the Turkes would be as weake and ignorant at sea, as the silly Æthiopian, is unexpert in handling of armes on the Land.

From the Fort and City Famagusta, I embarked in a Germo, and arrived at Tripoli being 88. miles distant where I met with an English ship called the Royall Exchange of London, lying there at Anker in the dangerous Road of Tripoli, whose loves I cannot easily forget, for at my last good night, being after great cheare, and greater carrousing, they gave me the thundring farewell of three pieces of Ordonance.

CHAPTER NINE

Syria



TRIPOLI is a City in Syria, standing a mile from the marine side, neere to the foot of Mount Lebanon: since it hath beene first founded, it hath three times beene situated, and removed in three sundry places: First it was overwhelmed with water: Secondly, it was sacked with Cursares, and Pirates: Thirdly, it is like now to be overthrowne with new made mountaines of sand: There is no haven by many miles neere unto it, but a dangerous roade, where often when Northerly winds blow, ships are cast away.

The great Traffique which now is at this place, was formerly at Alexandretta, a little more Eastward; but by reason of the infectious ayre, that corrupted the blood of strangers, proceeding of two high Mountaines; who are supposed to be a part of Mount Caucasus, which withhold the prospect of the Sunne from the In-dwellers, more then three howers in the morning. So that in my knowledge, I have knowne dye in one ship, and a moneths time, twenty Marriners: for this cause the Christian ships were glad to have their commodities brought to Tripoli, which is a more wholesome and convenient place.

The dayly interrogation I had here, for a Carravans departure to Aleppo, was not to me a little fastidious, being mindfull to visite Babylon: In this my expectation I tooke purpose, with three Venetian Merchants, to go see the Cedars of Lebanon, which was but a dayes journey thither. As we ascended upon the mountaine, our ignorant guide mistaking the way, brought us in a Laborinth of dangers; Insomuch that wrestling amongst intricate paths

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of Rockes: two of our Asses fell over a banke, and broke their neckes: And if it had not bene for a Christian Amaronite,¹ who accidentally encountred with us, in our wilesome wandring, we had bene miserably lost: both in regard of Rockes, and heapes of snow we passed; and also of great Torrents, which fell downe with force, from the steepy tops: wherein one of these Merchants was twice almost drowned. When we arrived to the place where the Cedars grew, we saw but twenty foure of all, growing after the manner of Oke-trees, but a great deale taler, straighter, and greater, and the braunches grow so straight, and interlocking as though they were kept by Arte. The nature of that tree is alwayes greene, yeelding an odoriferous smell, and an excellent kind of fruite like unto Apples, but of a sweeter taste, and more wholesome in digestion. The Rootes of some of these Cedars are almost destroyed by Shepheards, who have made fires thereat, and holes wherein they sleepe; yet neverthesse they flourish greene above in the tops, and branches.

This mountain is beautified with all the ornaments of nature, as Herbage, Tillage, Pastorage, Fructiferous Trees, fine Fountaines, good Cornes, and absolutely the best Wine that is bred on the earth. The Signior thereof is a Freeholder, by birth a Turke, and will not acknowledge any superiour, being the youngest sonne of the Emeere or Prince of Sidon. The most part of the inhabited villages are Christians, called Maronites, or Nostranes,

¹ The Maronites are the only eastern Christians who have always been attached to Rome; like other Uniates they keep their own language and rite. The alternative names which Lithgow gives are erroneous. *Nostranes* presumably stands for Nestorians, which the Maronites were not. *Nazaritan* is probably a misspelling of the name of a

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quasis Nazaritans, and are governed by their owne Patriarke. There are none at this day, do speake the Syriack tongue, save onely these people of mount Libanus and in that language the Alcoran of Mahomet is written.

The kinde Maronite whom we met, and tooke with us for our best guide, in descending from the Cedars showed us many caves and Holes in Rockes, where Coliers, religious Siriens and Amaronites abide: Amongst these austere Cottages, I saw a faire Tombe all of one stone being 17. foote of length; which (as he said) was the Sepulcher of the valiant Joshua, who conducted the people of Israel to the land of promise.

The Mahometans esteeme this to be a holy place, and many resort to it in Pilgrimage, to offer up their Satanicall Prayers to Mahomet.

I saw upon this Mountaine, a sort of fruite, called Amazza Franchi: that is, The death of Christians; because when Italians, and others of Europe, eate any quantity thereof, they presently fall into the bloudy fluxe, or else ingender some other pestilentious fever, whereof they dye.

The Patriarke did most kindly entertaine us at his house; so did also all the Maronites of the other Villages, who met us in our way before we came to their Townes, pagan sect in the Lebanon, the *Nosaireh*, a name of doubtful origin; according to one theory it is derived from *Nasrani*, i.e. Nazarene or Christian, hence Lithgow's mistake, while according to another theory, it comes from the name of a supposed founder, Mohammed ibn Nosair, in the ninth century. The religion combines relics of pagan Phoenician beliefs with those of the Shi'ah heresy (held by the Persians and some Mesopotamians to whom Ali, Mohammed's nephew, was the Prophet's immediate successor).

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and brought presents with them of Bread, Wine, Figges, Olives, Sallets, Capons, Egges, and such like, as they could on a sudden provide.

The Bishop or Patriarkes house, is joynd with and hembd in, within the face of an high Rocke, that serveth for three sides thereof, the fore and fourth part being onely of Mason-worke: Neare unto which falleth precipitately a great Torrent, that maketh a greivous noyse night and day.

About the Village of Eden, is the most fruitfull part of all Lebanus, abounding in all sorts of delicious fruits. True it is, the variety of these things, maketh the silly people thinke, the Garden of Eden was there. There are with this one, other two supposed places of the earthly Paradise: The one is by the Turkes, and some ignorant Georgians, holden to be at Damascus, for the beauty of faire fields, gardens, and excellent fruits there; especially for the tree called Mouslee, which they beleeve hath growne there since the beginning of the world. Indeed it is a rare and singular tree, for I saw it at Damascus, and others also of the same kind, upon Nylus in Ægypt: The growth whereof is strange: for every yeare in September it is cut downe hard by the roote, and in five moneths the tree buddeth up a pace againe, bringing forth leaves, flowers, and fruite. The leafe thereof is of such a breadth, that three men may easily stand under the shadow of it, and the Apple is bigger then a foot-ball, which is yearly transported to Constantinople for the great Turke; and there is reserved for a relict of the fruit of the forbidden tree; whence he surstyles himselfe keeper of the earthly Paradise.

But to turne backe to mine itinerary relation, after my

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returne to Tripoli, I departed thence Eastward, with a Caravan of Turkes to Aleppo, being ten dayes journey distant. In all this way I saw nothing worthy remarking; save onely a few scattered Villages, the poore miserable people called Turcomani, living in Tents, and following their flockes to whom I payed sundry Caffars who remove their women, children, and cattell where so they finde fountaines, and good pastorage: like unto the custome of the ancient Israelites: Which in their vagabonding fashion, did plainly demonstrate the necessity they had to live, rather then any pleasure they had, or could have in their living.

Before my arrivall in Aleppo, the Caravan of Babylon was from thence departed, which bred no small grieve in my breast: The Venetian Consull, to whom I was highly recommended, by the aforesaid Merchants, informed me that the Caravan stayed at Birejik on Euphrates, for some report they had of Arabs, that lay for them in the desarts, and willed me to hire a Janisary, and three Souldiers to overhye them; whose counsell I received, But was meerely frustrated of my signes. True it was, they staied, but were gone three dayes before my comming to that unhappy place. The distance from whence over land to Babylon, or Bagdat, being but sixe small or short dayes journey, the losse whereof and the deceit of my Janizary made my Muse to expresse, what my Prose can not performe.

Still this, still that I would! all I surmise
Is screwaly stopt: At last my scopes devise
To make a Boat, to beare me downe alone
With drudges two, to ground-chang'd Babylon:

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That could not be, the charges was too great,¹
And eke the streame, did nought but dangers threat:
My conduct still deceavd me, made it square
Another Caravan, O! would come there
From Aleppe, or Damascus: till in end
Most of my moneyes did his knavery spend:
Thus was I tost long five weekes, and foure dayes
With struggling doubts: O strange were these delayes!
At last a Chelfane² came, a Christian kind
Who by my griefe soone understood my mind;
And told me flat, the Janizaries drift
Was to extort me with a lingring shift.
Come, come, sayd he, the Sanzacke here is just,
Let us complaine, for now complayne you must:
He with me went, and for a Trenchman serv'd
And told the Ruler, how my Conduct swervd:
He's calld, and soone convinc'd, and with command
Forc'd to transport me backe to Syriaes land:
I'me there arrived, and eftsoones made me bound
For the Venetian Consul: there to sound
My great abuses, by this Villaine done.
Which soone were heard, and eke repayrd as soone:

¹ Travellers paid more tolls to local tribes than to the Turkish government, and the lower Euphrates was in the hands of several powerful chiefs.

² The term 'Chelfane' or 'Chelfaline' was frequently used by travellers at this time to denote Armenians. At the end of the sixteenth century Shah Abbas, the inveterate enemy of the Turks, desolated Armenia, and attempted to transfer the whole nation to Persia, but only a part arrived. They were allotted a suburb of Isphahan, Julfa (spelt Chelfa as older writers), and to them alone the name Chelfane properly applies: but since they were the only flourishing and conspicuous Armenians, their name was naturally given generally to the whole nation.

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The Bassaw was upright, and for times sake
He did me more, then conscience will'd me take.
My plaint preferd, he was in Prison layd
And all my gold, to give me backe was mayd.
Thus leaving him, I with the Consull bode,
Full forty dayes, or I went thence abroad.

In the eleven dayes journey I had betweene Aleppo, and Birejik, through a part of Syria, the breadth of Mesopotamia, and Chelfania, a Province of the same, joyning with Tigris and Euphrates, and returning the same way againe; I found nothing worthy of remarkinge save the fertility of the soyle: which indeed in Mesopotamia, yeeldeth two crops of wheate in the yeare, and for a Bushell sowing, in diverse places, they recoyle a hundredth againe. The countrey it selfe is overcled with infinit Villages, having no eminent Towne of any note or consequence, except the City of Diyarbakar the seat of a Beglerbeg, who commandeth under him fourteene Sanzacks, and twenty sixe thousand Timariots. The people here are for the most part beleevers in Christ, but alas too silly, untoward, and ignorant Christians: And yet though without learning, or great understanding therein, they are wonderfull zealous in their profession, and great sufferers for it also.

This barbarous Towne of Birejik, being situate on Euphrates standeth in the Chelfaines Countrey, and is supposed to have beene Padan-aram, where Jacob kept Labans sheepe, though some interpret all Mesopotamia then to have beene called Padanaram: from whence Northeast, and not farre hence are the demolished fragments of Ninive on Tigris, whose very ruines are now come to ruine.

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Aleppo is a City in Syria; the name of which hath been so oft changed by Turkes, that the true Antiquity of it, can hardly be knowne: It is both large and populous, and furnished with all sorts of merchandize, especially of Indigo, and Spices, that are brought over land from Goa, & other places in India, which draweth a concurrence of all nations to it.

Here I remember of a notable obedience done to the great Turke, by the great Bassaw of Aleppo, who was also an Emeere, or hereditary Prince: to wit, the yeare before my coming hither, he had revolted against his Emperour, and fighting the Bassawes of Damascus, and Diyarbakar, overcame them: The yeare following, and in my being there, the Grand Signior sent from Constantinople a Showse, and two Janisaries in Ambassage to him: where, when they came to Aleppo, the Bassaw was in his owne Countrey at Mesopotamia: The messengers make hast after him, but in their journey they met him coming backe to Aleppo, accompanied with his two sonnes, and sixe hundred Horse-men. Upon the high way they delivered their message, where he stood still, and heard them: The proffer of Achmet was, that if he would acknowledge his rebellion, and for that treason committed send him his head, his eldest Sonne should both inherit his possessions, and Bassawship of Aleppo, otherwise he would come with great forces in all expedition, and in his proper person he would utterly raze him and all his, from the face of the earth.

At which expression, the Bassaw knowing that he was not able to resist the invincible Armie of his Master, and his owne presence, he dismounted from his horse, and went to counsell with his sonnes, and nearest friends: where he,

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and they concluded, it was best for him to dye, being an old man, to save his race undestroyed, and to keepe his sonne in his authority and inheritance: This done, the Bassaw went to prayer, and taking his leave of them all, sate downe upon his knees, where the Showse stroke off his head, putting it in a Boxe, to carry it with him for Constantinople. The dead corps were carried to Aleppo and honourably buried, for I was an eye witnesse to that funerall feast: And immediately thereafter, the Showse by Proclamation and power from the Emperour, fully possessed the sonne in his Fathers lands, offices, Bassawship, and the authority of all the Easterne Syria, part of Mesopotamia, and the Assyrian Countrey; for this Bassaw of Aleppo is the greatest in commandement and power of all the other Bassawes in the Turkes dominions; except the Bassa, or Beglerbeg of Damascus; and yet the former in hereditary power, farre exceedeth the other; being a free Emeer, and thereupon a Prince borne: The force of his commandement reacheth to eightene Sanzacks, and thirty thousand Timariots, besides Janisaries, and other inferiour souldiers, which would make up as many more.

This City is called Aleppo of Alep, which signifieth milke, whereof there is a great plenty here: There are Pigeons brought up here as after an incredible manner, who will flie betweene Aleppo, and Babylon, being thirty dayes journey distant in forty eight houres: carrying letters and newes, which are tied about their neckes, to Merchants of both Townes, and from one to another; who onely are employed in the time of hasty and needfull intendements; their education to this tractable expedition is admirable, the flights and arrivalls of which I have often seene in the time of my wintering in Aleppo, which was

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the second Winter after my departure from Christendome.

In my expectation here, and the Spring come, (being disappointed of my desired aimes) I pretended to visite Jerusalem in my backe-comming; and for the furtherance of my determination, I joyned with a Caravan of Armenians, and Turkes, that were well guarded with Janisaries, and Souldiers; of whom some were to stay at Damascus by the way, and some mindfull to the furthest marke. And for my better safeguard (being alwaies alone which by all, was ever much admired) the Venetian Consull tooke surety of the Captaine, that he should protect me safely from theeves, cut-throates, and the exactions of tributes by the way, delivering me freely into the hands of the Padre Guardiano at Jerusalem: Which being done, I hired a Mule from a Turke, to carry my victuals; and so set forward with them. The number of our company were about 900. Armenians, Christian Pilgrimes, men and women: 600. Turkes trafficking for their owne businesse, and 100. souldiers, three Showsses, and sixe Janizaries, to keepe them from invasions.

Betweene Aleppo and Damascus, we had nine dayes journey, in five of which, we had pleasant travelling, and good Canes to lodge in, that had beene builded for the support of Travellers, and are well maintained: But when we passed Homs, which is a little more than midway we had dangerous travelling, being oft assailed with Arabs, fatigated with rocky mountaines, and sometimes in point of choaking for lacke of water. The confusion of this multitude, was not onely grievous in regard of the extreme heate, providing of victuals at poore Villages, and scarcity of water, to fill our bottles, made of Boare-skinnes; but

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also amongst narrow and stony passages, thronging, we oft fell one over another, in great heapes; in danger to be smothered: yea; and oftentimes we that were Christians, had our bodies well beaten, by our conducting Turkes.

In this journeying I remember the Turke who ought my Mule, was for three dayes exceeding favourable unto me, in so much, that I began to doubt of his carriage, fearefully suspecting. But when I perceived, his extraordinary service and flattery, was onely to have a share of the Tobacco I carried with me, I freely bestowed a pound thereof upon him: Which he and his fellowes tooke as kindly, as though it had beene a pound of gold, for they are excessively adicted to smoake, as Dutch men are to the Pot: which ever made me to carry Tobacco with me, to acquist their favour, over and above their fials, more then ever I did for my owne use: for in these dayes I tooke none at all, though now as time altereth every thing, I am become a courtly Tobacconist; more for fashion then for liking: The Turkish Tobacco pipes are more than a yard long and commonly of Wood or Canes, beeing joynd in three parts, with Lead or white Iron; their severall mouths receaving at once, a whole ounce of Tobacco; which lasteth a long space, and because of the long pipes, the smoake is exceeding cold in their swallowing throates.

At our accustomed dismounting to recreate our selves, and refresh the beasts, I would often fetch a walke, to stretch my legs, that were stifled with a stumbling beast; wherewith the Turkes were mightily discontented, and in derision would laugh, and mocke me: For they cannot abide a man to walke in turnes, or stand to eate; their usage being such, that when they come from the horse backe, presently sit downe on the ground, folding their

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feete under them, when they repose, dine, and suppe. So doe also their Artizans and all the Turkes in the World sit allwayes crosse legged. In their houses they have no bed to lye on, nor chaire to sit on, nor table to eate on, but a bench made of boords along the house side, of a foot high from the floore, spread over with a Carpet; whereon they usually sit eating, drinking, sleeping, resting, and doing of manuell exercises, all in one place. Neither will the best sort of Mahometans be named Turkes, because it signifieth banished in the Hebrew tongue, and therefore they call themselves Musilmans, to wit, good beleevers. They never unclothe themselves when they goe to rest, neither have they any bed-clothes, save onely a coverlet above them: I have seene hundreds of them after this manner, lie ranked like durty swine, in a beastly stie, or loathsome Jades in a filthy stable.

Upon the ninth day we entred in a pleasant Plaine of three leagues of length, adorned with many Villages, Gardens, and Rivers; and arriving at Damascus, we were all lodged (some in Chambers wanting beds, and others without, on hard stones) in a great Cane called Herammen, where we stayed three dayes. Having all which time given us twice a day provision for our selves and provender for our beasts gratis; being allowed by the Grand Signior to all kinds of strangers whatsoever; that come to Damascus with any Caravan; being a singular comfort and advantage to weary and extorted Travellers.

Damascus is the Capitall Citie of Syria, and is situated on a faire Plaine, and beautified with many Rivers on each side, excellent Orchards, and all other naturall objects of elegancy: That for situation, Artizens, all manner of commodities, and varietie of fruits, in all the Asiaticall

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Provinces it is not paralleled. It is a pleasant and gallant Citie, well walled, and fortified with a strong Castle, wherein the Bassaw remaineth: the most part of the streets are covered, so that the Citizens are preserved in Summer from the heat, and in Winter from the raine. Their Bazar, or Market place is also covered, so are commonly all the Bazars or Bezestans in Turkey: the best Carobiers, Adams Apples, and Grenadiers that grow on the earth is here: And I saw also such abundance of Rose-water here in barrels, to be sold, as beere or wine is rife with us.

This is the most beautiful place of all Asia, resembling every way (the tectures of her Houses excepted being platforme) that matchlesse patterne and mirrour of beauty, the City of Antwerp. The onely best Shables, or short crooked swords, that be in the world are made here; and so are all other their weapons, as halfe Pikes, Bowes, and Arrowes, and Baluckoes of steele, that Horse-men carry in their hands: their shafts being three foot long, their heads great and round, and sharply guttered; wherewith they use to braine or knocke downe their enemies in the field.

The Beglerbeg or Bassa of Damascus, is the greatest of commandement of all other Bassaes in Asia: Having under his authority (as he is under his Emperour) twenty two Sanzacks, and they conducting under all the aforesayd three, forty thousand Timariots or Horse-men, besides two thousand Janizaries, which are the guard of the Bassa, and Garrison of the Citty. His Beglerbership extendeth over the greater halfe of Syria, Palestina, and al the Northerne parts of Arabia Desartuous, even to the frontier of Egypt.

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The meanes of the preservation of so great a state, is only by an induced confidence upon the power, and force of those Timariots who as well have their pay and locall grounds of compensation in time of tranquillitie, as warres, to defend these Countries, from the incursions of the wilde Arabs, which evermore annoy the Turkes, and also Strangers: and cannot possibly be brought to a quiet, and well formed manner of living; but are continuall spoilers of these parts of the Turkes Dominions. That mischief daily increaseth, rather then any way diminisheth. They taking example from the beastly Turkes, adde by these patterns more wickednesse, to the badnesse of their owne dispositions: So that every one of these Savages, according to his power, dealeth with all men uncivilly & cruelly, even like a wilderness full of wilde beasts, living all upon rapine and robbery, wanting all sense of humanity, more then a shew of appearance: Whereby being combind together, doe tyrannize over all, even from the red Sea to Babylon.

Thus they in that violent humour, invading also these of Africa, hath caused Grand Cairo to be furnished with thirty thousand Timariots, which defend the frontiers of Ægypt.

Leaving all the Turkes at Damascus (save onely our Janizaries and Souldiers) within the space of two houres after our departure from thence travelling in the way to Jerusalem; the whole Armenians fell downe on the ground, kissing it, and making many sincere demonstrations of unwonted devotion. At the which I being amazed, stood gazing, asking my Trench man, what newes? who replied, saying, it was the place where S. Paul was converted, which they had (and all Christianes should have)

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in great regard. The place was covered with an old Chappell.

Three dayes were we betwixt Damascus, and the East part of Galilie, which is the beginning of Canaan: in two of which three, we encountred with marishes and quagmires, being a great hinderance to us. Through this passage,, it is most undoubtedly a very theevish way; for as we travelled in the night, there were many of us forced to carry burning lights in our hands, and our souldiers had their Harquebuzes ready to discharge: all to affray the blood-thirsty Arabians, who in holes, caves, and bushes, lie obscured, waiting for the advantage upon Travellers: not unlike unto the Lawlesse Wood Carnes in Ireland.

Here I remarked a singular qualitie, and rare perfection, in the carefull conduction of our Captaine; who would, when we came to any dangerous place, give the watch-word of St. Johanne, meaning as much thereby, that none should speake or whisper after that warning under the paine of a Harquebusado. And no more we durst, unlesse he had stretcht out his hand, making us a signe (when occasion served) of liberty, least by our tumultuous noyse in the night, our enemies should have the fore-knowledge of our comming; and knowing also that the nature of a multitude, bred all times confused effects, without some severe punishment. Him selfe rode still in the Vangard, upon a lusty Gelding, with two Janizaries, and forty Souldiers, and the other foure Janizaries and sixty Souldiers were appointed to be the backe-gard, for feare of sudden assaults. Thus, most dexteriously discharged he the function of his calling, not with insolencie, but with prudent and magnanimous virilitie: for my part, I must needs' say, the diligent care of that benigne Caravan

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extended over me, was such, that whensoever I remember it, I am not able to sacrifice congratulations sufficiently to his well-deserving mind.

Yet in the meane while, my Purse bountifully rewarded his endeavours; yet in some frivolous things, and for a small trifle, he privately wronged me, at the paying of my tributes, by the way for my head, he caused me oft to pay, more then reason, to the Moores, Turkes, and civill Arabs, receiving secretly backe from them the over-plus; which my Turkish Servant perceiving, made my Trenchman tell me, that I might be fore-seene therein. But the high respect I had of his other perfections, made me oversee and winke at that imperfection of avaritiousnesse in him; and especially remembering my selfe to be under his protection, I alwayes endeavoured my aimes so, that in his sight, I wonne extraordinary favour: insomuch, that in danger, or securitie, he would ever have me neere by him, which I also craved, and strove to observe the points of his will, and my owne safety.

But to proceed in my Pilgrimage, on the aforesaid third day, in the after-noone, we entred in Galilee, passing along a faire Bridge, that is over the River Jordan. This Bridge by the Armenians, is called Jacobs Bridge; and not farre hence, they shewed me the place, where Jacob wrestled with the Angell, and where Esau met his brother Jacob, to have killed him.

CHAPTER TEN

Northern Palestine



PALESTINE was of that salubrity of aire and fertility of soyle, flowing with milke and hony, that before the comming of the Israelites it maintayned thirty Kings, with their people, and afterward the two potent Kingdomes of Israel and Judah. It is most certayne, that by the goodnesse of the Climate and soile, especially by the blessing of God, it was the most fruitfull Land in the World: but by experience, I find now the contrary, and the fruitfulness thereof to be changed, God cursing the Land together with the Jewes, then the inhabitants thereof.

Neither are the greatest part of these Easterne countries so fertile, as they have beene in former ages, the earth as it were growing olde, seemeth weary to beare the burthen of any more encrease; and surely the two eyes of Day and Night, with the Planets, and Starres, are become neyther so forcible, so bright, nor warme as they have beene: Time from olde antiquity, running all things to devastated desolation, making the strong things weake, and weake things feeble, at last it returneth all things to just nothing: and there is the end of all beginnings, and an infallible Argument of the dissolution to come by the day of judgement.

After we had travailed a great way, along the Lake of Gennesaret, we left the Marine, and came to Cana, to stay all night: in which wee had no coverture above our heads, but the hard ground to lye on, which was alwayes my Bed, in the most parts of Asia: In the night, when we slept, the Souldiers kept Centinell, and in the day, when we Reposed, they slept, and we watched.

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The day following, imbracing our way, wee passed over a little pleasant Mountayne, where the Armenian Patriarke (for so was there one with them) went into an old Chappell, and all the rest of the Pilgrimes thronged about him, using many strange Ceremonies, for it was in that place (as they sayd) Where Christ fed five thousand people, with five Barley loaves, and two fishes. Continuing our journey, wee saw Mount Tabor on our left hand, which is a pretty round Mountaine, beset about with comely trees: I would gladly have seene that place, where the Transfiguration of Christ was: But the Caravan, mindfull to visite Nazareth, left the great way of Jerusalem, and would by no perswasion go thither.

That night we lodged in a poore Village, where we could get neither meate for our selves, nor provender for the Beasts, but some of our Company for their supper, had a hundred stroakes from the Moores and Arabs in that place, because the Christian Pilgrimes had troden upon the graves of their dead friends, which by no meanes they can tollerate: They made no small uproare amongst us, desperately throwing stones and darts, till we were all glad to remove halfe a mile from the place.

Aprill the 20. day, about ten of the clocke, we arrived at Nazareth, and there reposed till the evening, providing our selves of victuals and water: In this Towne dwelt Joseph, and the Virgin Mary; and in which also our Saviour was brought up under the vigilant care of Joseph and Mary. After wee had dined, the Armenians arose, and went to a heape of stones, the ruines of an old house, before the which they fell downe upon their knees; praying God: And that ruinous lumpe (say they) was the house where Mary dwelt, when Gabriel saluted her,

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bringing the Annunciation of Salvation to the World: I am fully perswaded, they carried away about five thousand pounds weight, to keepe in a memoriall thereof: then did I remember of the Chappell of Loreto, and told the Caravan, that I saw that house standing in Italy, which (as the Romanists say) was transported by the Angels: O, said he, we Armenians cannot beleeeve that, neither many other assertions of the Roman Church; for we certainly know by Christians, that have from time to time dwelt here ever since, that this is both the place, and stones of the house: Let Papists coyne a new Law to themselves, we care not, for as they erre in this, so doe they erre in all, following meerely the traditions of men, they runne galloping post to Hell. The Patriarke being informed by the laughing Caravan of these newes, asked me in disdaine (thinking it had beene an Article of my beliefe) if I saw that house, or beleeeved that the Chappell of Loreto was such a thing: to whom I constantly answered, I did not beleeeve it, affirming it was onely but a divellish invention, to deceive the blind-folded people, and to fill the Coffers of the Romane Priests: Now thou bottomless Gulfe of Papistry, here I forsake thee, no Winter-blasting Furies of Satans subtile stormes, can make ship-wracke of my Faith, on the stony shelves of thy deceitfull deepes.

In the time of our staying here; the Emeere or Lord of the Towne sent sixe women, conducted by 12. of his servants, to an Armenian Prince, that was a Pilgrime in our company; to be used by him and others, whom so he would elect to be his fellow labourers: Which indeed he did kindly accept, & invited me to that feast: but I gave him the refusall, little regarding such a frivolous commodity. He, and some of the chieftest Pilgrimes entertained

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them for the space of 3. houres, and sent them backe, giving to their conductors fifteene Piasters, in a reward. Truly if I would rehearse the impudency of these Whoores, and the bruitishnesse of the Armenians, as it is most ignominious to the actors; so no doubt, it would be very loathsome to the Reader. These wretched Armenians committed with these Infidelish harlots a twofold kind of voluptuous abomination, which my conscience commands me to conceale: least I frequent this Northern world, with that which their nature never knew, nor their knowledge have heard hearing of the like: but God in his just judgements, that same night, threatned both to have punished the doers, and the whole company for their sakes.

For having resolved to travell all that night, and because the way was rocky, and hard to be knowne, and perillous for Arabs; we hired a Christian guide, named Joab, and agreed with him to take us to Lidda, which was two dayes journey. But before we advanced to our passage, Joab had sent a privie messenger before us, to warne about three hundred Arabs (who had their abode on the South side of Mount Carmell) to meete him at such a place as he had appointed; giving them to know, wee were rich and well provided with Chickens and Sultans of gold, and Piasters of silver; and that he should render us into their hands for such a recompense and consideration, as their savage judgements should thinke fit; according to the spoyles and booties they should obtaine, together with the miserable murder and losse of our lives. This being done, and unknowne to us, we marched along, travelling faster then our ordinary pace, some on horse, and some on foote, for my pilgrimage was ever pedestriall: which our guide

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suspecting, that by our celerity wee should goe beyond the place appointed for his treacherous plot, began to crosse us grievously; leading us up and downe amongst pooles and holes, whither he listed; where many of our Camels & Asses were lost, and could not be recovered, because we all began to suspect and feare; which was the cause that the owners durst not stay to relieve their perishing beasts.

In the end, the Captaine and Janisaries, intreated him earnestly to bring us in the right way; but the more they requested, the more obdurat was his heart, replying, he was mistaken, and could not finde it, till day light: upon the which words, the company was stayed, and in the meanwhile there came a Turke, one of our Souldiers unto the Captaine, saying; he saw the guide, before our departure from Nazareth, send a Moore before him, for what respect he knew not, being long at privat conference. Whereupon, they straight bound him with ropes, on a horse backe, threatening him with death, to cause him confesse the trueth.

In the midst of this tumult, I having got sight of the North-starre, (which seemd exceeding low to me) considered thereby, that the villaine had led us more to the Southward, then to the Westward, which was our way to Jerusalem: Whereupon I intreated the Caravan to turne our faces to Northward, otherwise we should be cut off, and that suddenly: for although (said I) it may peradventure be, that we are three or foure miles short of the place intended for our massacre, yet they missing us, will like ravening Wolves hunt here and there; wherefore, if we incline to the North, (God willing) we shall prevent their bloody designes. To the which advice (being duely

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pondered) they yeelded; and so I became their guide, in that darke night, till morning: for none of them knew that Starre, neither the nature of it.

At last this desperate wretch considering that either by our vanquishing, or the enemies victory, he could not escape, sith his treason was revealed; began to beg pardon of the Caravan, saying that if he could have any surety of his life, he would sufficiently informe us, how to eschew these eminent dangers, for we were all in extreame perill of our lives; and not so much courage nor comfort left us, as the very smallest hope of any reliefe. The Captaine being distracted with feare, replied he would, and thereupon swore a solemne oath, so did the Janisaries sweare by the head of Mahomet, for the like effect: Which being done, he was untied, and confessed, that if we had continued in our way, he led us, wee had beene all put to the edge of the Sword: and falling down on his knees, cried oft with teares, mercy, mercy, mercy.

All that night we went with the Starre, and against morning wee were close by the marine, and within halfe a mile of Tyrus. Here by accident, in returning backe to the Caravan, I met with an English Factor, named Maister Brockesse, who then remayned at Sidon, eightene miles from this place, and had been downe at Acre, about some negotiations: Who indeede eftsoones, and kindly tooke mee into a Moorish House by the Sea side, and one of his acquaintance: where instantly we swallowed downe such joviall and deep carrouses of Leaticke wine, that both hee and I, were almost fastned in the last plunge of understanding: Yet neverthesse, he conveyed me backe to my company, and put me safe into the hands of the Caravan, with whom afterwards I diverse times met with

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here at London; to whose kindnesse I celebrate the memory of these lines.

But now the Sunne discovering the earth, and the night banished to the inferiour world, we were all encouraged, for the light of day lends comfort: The Captaine (sending backe that false Judas, for so was he sworne to do) sent a post to Tyre for a new guide, who came forthwith, and brought us in our way to Mount Carmell. Leaving it upon our right hand betweene us and the coast, we came in sight of two hundred pavillions, all pitched in rankes; yeelding the prospect of a little Citie, by a brooke side of water: which being perceived, the Captaine began to censure what they might be; and immediately there came riding towards us, sixe naked fellowes, well mounted on Arabian Geldings, who demanded what wee were? and whither we were bound with such a multitude; and if there were any Franks of Christendome in our company. To whom the Janisaries replied, we were purposed to Jerusalem, and that there was but one Franke with them: Upon the which they presently sought me, demanding Caffar, Caffar; that was tribute for my head, & caused me perforce notwithstanding of the resisting Caravan, and Janizaries, to pay them presently for my life seven Chickens of gold, seven times nine shillings starling: And this is, because sayd they our King is resident in these Tents, and therefore we have tripled his tribute: And yet were they discontented, because there were no moe franks in our company, for from the Armenians, they could not, nor would not seeke any tribute, because they were tributary slaves and subjects to the great Turke: neither also of any other Christiane borne in his dominions, when they shall happen to fall into their hands.

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They returning backe to their Prince, with the malediction of my heart, and the sorrow of a Pilgrime's purse, we marching on in our way, that day wee travelled above thirty foure miles, and pitched at a Village called Adoash, being composed of threescore Moorish and Arabian houses, standing in a fruitfull and delicate Plaine; and garnished with Olive, Date, and Figge-trees, which were both pleasant and profitable: where we found also good hearbes to eate, and abundance of water to drinke, and also to fill our emptied bottles: As wee lay downe to sleepe after a hungry supper, on the hard ground, and our guard watching us; that same King of the Arabians came a little before mid-night, with twenty foure well horsed Runagats, and naked Courtiers, being armed with bowes and arrowes, and halfe-pikes, pointed at both ends with hard Steele; and asked for the Caravan, who presently awoke, and went to salute him, laying his hand on his breast, bowed his head very low; which is the usuall courtesie amongst the Infidels and Christians in these parts: For they never uncover their heads to any man; and after some short parley, they sate all downe on the grasse. The Caravan presented his rude like majesty with water, bread, hearbes, figs, garlike, and such things as he had.

As they were thus merry, at this poore banquet, the awfull King tooke the Oath of our Conductor, if there were any mo Frankes there then I; and he having sworne the trueth, The King by a malignant informer, incontinently caused me to be brought before him; and staring me in the face, asked my Interpreter where were my companions? Who replied I had none: then sayd he; tell that dogge, he must acknowledge me with five peeces of

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gold more, otherwise (making a signe to his owne throate) I shall cut off his head, because (sayd he) I will not loose this nights travell for nothing: The which I being informed, and knowing that by no condition, there was resistance against such a scelerate Prince, gave it him forth of mine owne hand, having consulted with my Captaine before, and that presently with a halfe smiling countenance; which he remarking, told the rest, it seemed I gave it with a good heart & a chearefull gesture, and to recompence my outward behaviour, he drunke a great draught of water to me: thinking thereby, he had done me more honour then all the Chickens of gold I gave him now, and in the morning; would doe him profit or pleasure: pleasure they could doe him none, for they were unlawfully and dishonestly got, and too delivered from the inward sorrow of my sighing soule; and no wonder, having spent two yeares great charges in Turkey, before this time, but that I should have beene exceeding penurious of money, and thereupon desolate of reliefe and comfort. Truely this was one of the greatest tributes I payed for one dayes journey, that I had in all my voyage, in Asia.

There are two Kings in Arabia, the one who liveth on Euphrates, the desarts of Mesopotamia, sometimes in Arabia Felix, and in some parts of Syria: And the other was hee to whom I payd this money wandereth with his Tribes, Tents, and Bestiall, one while in Arabia, and sometimes in the Holy Land, as hee findeth good pastorage, and fresh Fountaynes. These two Kings are mortall enemies: and if by accident they meete, they fight most cruelly, bringing dammage, rapine, and destruction to themselves, and their followers: For it is a difficult thing in them to dominate their inordinate passions, beeing

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untamed Savages, and mis-regarders of civility, who continually contend to corroborate the malignity of their dispositions, with bloody and inhumane interprises. And yet all the rest of that night, after his returne from us, wee still expected some treacherous surprise, which made our souldiers stand stoutly on their guard, and wee Pilgrimes to our vigilant and naked defence: For the Turkes will not suffer Christians to carry weapons in al' these Dominions, neither any where, where they command.

And now by the way I recall the aforesayd Turke, the maister of the Mule that carried my provision, and on whom in the journey I had bestowed the most part of my Tobacco: When I had no more to give him, and he suspecting the contrary, was counsell'd by his associats to beate me soundly, and dismount my Victuals and Water from the Mules backe, till I propined him with the rest, which intention being by me understood; I forthwith run to the Caravan and complained: whereupon my friend was bravely belaboured with a cudgell, and my better safety procured: Thus was his former shew of love quickly expelled, and an inward grudge suddenly conceived, for it was the smoake, and not my selfe he respected.

The next morning marcht we along in our way, and before mid-day pitched our haire-cloth Tents round about Jacobs Well, neare the decayed City of Sychar in Samaria: This Province of Samaria, is now for the most part quite destroyed and overwhelmed with mountaines of sand: we found this auncient Well so wondrous deepe, that scarcely all our ropes could sinke our bucket in the water: The taste whereof was wondrous cold & sweet, & for Jacobs sake the whole number of us, drunke more of it, then

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neede required. All that afternoone, wee had exceeding pleasant travailing; and at night we incamped by Lydda on the fields: Lydda is not above ten miles from the sea side, and is now a Village only of sixteene Houses.

The Townes scituated by the Sea side in Phœnicia, Palestine, and Judea, are these: Sidon, a goodly City, and well peopled; governed by the Emeere or Prince of the Drusians: who beeing the off spring of the Christians, which under the Conduct of Godfrey Duke of Bulloine, discended into these parts, do still maintayne their liberty against the Turkes: The Signior whereof being threatned by the Great Turke, fled to Cosmus Duke of Florence, Anno 1612. leaving his two Sonnes behind him, the eldest to keepe Sidon, and the younger to remaine in a strong Fortresse, on the west end of mount Lebanus:¹ The elder brother foorthwith yeelded to the great Turke, the signory of his Lands, but the younger would never do it, and so retayneth absolutely the Countrey of Lebanus to this day. Tyrus, which is miserably brought to ruine: Acre, that hath yet some indifferent trade of Merchandize:

¹ Probably the belief in the Christian descent of the Druses from the Counts of Dreux originated with the prince named here, who wished to gain the sympathy of Europe for his cause. In truth the Druses were of mixed refugee stock, containing Kurdish, Yemenite Arab and other elements. The name Druse was first used by Benjamin of Tudela in 1171. Their religion was a secret cult, also of composite nature, and was founded or modified in 996, when the Fatimite Caliph Hakim declared himself to be the last Incarnation of God: Jesus was also admitted as an Incarnation but not Mahomet. Lithgow's assertion that they became Moslem, may be accounted for by the fact that they were allowed to conform outwardly to surrounding religions; for only a part of the Druses were compelled by the Sultan of Egypt to become Moslem in 1300. It is of interest that certain Druses still claim relationship with the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons.

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Haifa, called commonly Castello Pellegrino (Athlit), which hath nothing but the remnants of an auncient Abbay: Cesarea, who reserveth but onely the memory of ruines: Joppa is a Sea-port of small Barkes, but the decaied Towne, containeth not one dwelling House, save onely a high Tower, which defendeth the Port from Cursors. And Beirut famous for so many Christian armies that have besieged it, now composed of eight hundred fire houses: and the best inhabited place of all the holy Land, Sidon and Jerusalem excepted.

Saturday morning before the breach of day, setting forward from Lydda, through the curling playnes of fat-fac'd Palestine, scarcely were wee well advanced in our way, till wee were beset with more then three hundred Arabs, who sent us from shrubby heights an unexpected shoure of Arrowes, to the great annoyance of all our Company: For if it had not beene, that our Souldiers shot off their Gunnes on a sudden, and stood manly also to it, with their Bowes and Arrowes for our defence, we had then miserably, in the midst of their ravenous fury perished. But the nature of the Arabs is not unlike to the Jackals: For when any of them heare the shot of a Harquebuse, they presently turne backe with such speed, as if the fiendes of the infernall Court were broken loose at their heeles.

In that momentary conflict, on our side there were killed nine Women, five men, and about thirty persons deadly wounded, which to our worthy Armenian Captayne, and to the rest of our Heathnish Conductors bred no small grieve: the mourning noyse among the multitude beeing also wondrous pittifull. Till bright day came, we stayed still in that same place, (expecting the dangerous

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mutability of our austiere fortune: and at our departure thence, wee buried the slayne people in deep graves, whereby Jackals should not open up their graves, to eate their Corpes: For such is the nature of these cruel beasts, that they onely love to live on mans flesh: these ravenous beasts (as is thought) are ingendred of a Foxe and a Wolfe.

Proceeding in our journey, we entred about two of the clocke in the afternoone, in the hilly Countrey of Judea, having two of their courses to Jerusalem, which is about twenty English miles: leaving Ramleh on our right hand, which containeth some two hundred dwelling houses of one story high, and ten miles distant from Joppa, from which it lyeth in the way to Jerusalem: Here remayneth the Dragoman, a Christian, who receiveth and conveyeth the Pilgrimes to Jerusalem, which land at Joppa, each Pilgrime paying seaven Chickens of gold, is furnished with an Asse to ride on, all the way tributes, at going, and comming being discharged by their Conductor, to whom they resigne this tributary money.

Ramleh is a Towne inhabited by Christians, Arabs, and Moores: not blacke Moores, as the Africans be, but a kinde of Egyptians, and not naturally blacke but Sunneburnt, with the parching heate. The whole Territory of Canaan, is inhabited with these Moores, some Turkes, civill Arabs, and a few Christians and scattered Jewes. The Arabians are for the most part Theeves and Robbers, the Moores cruell, and uncivill, hating Christians to the Death: the Turkes are the ill best of all the three, yet all sworne enemies to Christ.

About foure of the clocke before night, wee arrived at Bireh, being eleaven miles distant from Jerusalem. Having a little reposed there, giving our Camels, Mules, and Asses

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some provender, but could get nothing for our selves, from these despihtfull Moores, (for what wee carried with us, was all spent) except a little Water: wee imbraced our Mountaynous way, as cheerefully as wee could, for wee were exceeding faint, and travailed that day above forty three miles; whereby wee might arrive at Jerusalem before the Gates were shut, sustaining great drouth, burning heate, pinching hunger, and not a few other the like inconveniences.

And now about halfe way betweene Berah and Jerusalem, I, and two Armenians, advancing our way a flight shot before the Company. Wee I say, unhappily rancountred with foure Moorish fellowes, driving before them sixe Asses loaden with Rootes, and shrubs of Wood to burne: who seeing us, as they thought alone, layd hands upon us, robbed us of our pocket monies: whereat I resisting, one of them pulled foorth a broad knife, and holding me by the Beard, thought to have cut my throate, if it had not beene for one of his fellowes, who swiftly stayed him.

Well, they leave us, and following their Beasts, our Souldiers instantly appeared unto us; whereupon wee shouting, the Moores fled to the Rocks, and our foot Souldiers following, apprehended two of the chieftest, and brought them to the Captaine: One of which had my money, which I presently received backe againe, but mine associates money, was with them that escaped: the Captaine and Janisaries, meane while carried the two Moores along with them, thinking to execute them at Jerusalem. But their friends and neighbours following fast on Horsebacke, and on foote, relieved them from the Caravan, restoring backe againe the two Armenians money.

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Whereat all the Moores were exceeding glad, and wee nowayes discontented: for if they had not bin redeemed, certainly their friends and followers, who were thicke flocking together, would have cut us all off, before wee could have attain'd to Jerusalem.

At last wee beheld the prospect of Jerusalem, which was not onely a contentment to my weary body, but also beeing fawished with a kinde of unwonted rejoycing, the teares gushed from my eyes for too much joy. In this time the Armenians began to sing in their owne fashion, Psalmes to praise the Lord: and I also sung the 103 Psalme all the way, till we arrived neere the wals of the Citty, where wee ceased from our singing, for feare of the Turkes.

The Sunne being passed to his nightly Repose, before our arrivall, wee found the Gates locked, and the Keyes carried up to the Bashaw in the Castle; which bred a common sorrow in the Company, being all both hungry, and weary: yet the Caravan intreated earnestly the Turkes within, to give us over the Wals, some victuals for our money, but they would not, neyther durst attempt such a thing. In this time the Guardian of the Monastery of Cordeleirs, who remayneth there to receive Travailers of Christendome, who having got newes of our late arrivall, came and demanded of the Caravan, if any Frankes of Europe were in his Society, and he sayd, onely one. Then the Guardian called mee, and asked of what Nation I was of, and when I told him, hee seemed to be exceeding glad: yet very sorrowfull for our misfortune.

Hee having knowne my distresse, returned, and sent two Friers to me with Bread, Wine, and Fishes, which they let over the Wall (as they thought in a secret place)

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but they were espied, and on the morrow the Guardiano payed to the Subbashaw or Sanzacke a great fine, being a hundred Piasters, thirty pounds sterling: otherwise both hee and I had beene beheaded: which I confesse, was a deare bought supper to the Gray Frier; and no lesse almost to me, being both in danger of my Life for starving, and then for receiving of food, therefore suspected for a Traytor: For the Turkes alleadged, he had taken in munition from me, and the other Christians, to betray the Citty: this they doe oft, for a lesser faulte than that was, onely to get Bribes and mony from the Grey Friers, which daily stand in feare of their lives.

Anno 1612. upon Palme-Sunday in the morning, wee entered into Jerusalem, and at the Gate wee were particularly searched, to the effect wee carried in no Furniture of Armes, nor Powder with us, and the poore Armenians (notwithstanding they are slaves to Turkes), behoved to render their weapons to the Keepers, such is the feare they have of Christians. And my name was written up in the Clarkes Booke at the Port, that my tribute for the Gate, and my seeing of the Sepulcher, might bee payed at one time together, before my finall departure thence.

Having taken my leave of the Caravan, and the Company, who went to lodge with their owne Patriarke, I was met and received with the Guardian, and twelve Friers upon the streetes, each of them carrying in their hands a burning waxe Candle, and one for mee also: who received mee joyfully, and singing all the way to their Monastery *Te Deum Laudamus*, they mightily rejoyced, that a Christian had come from such a far Countrey as Scotia, to visite Jerusalem.

Where being arrived, they forthwith brought me to a

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Roome, and there the Guardian washed my right foote with water, and his Viccar my left: and done, they kissed my feete, so did also all the twelve Friers that stood by: But when they knew afterward that I was no Popish Catholicke, it sore repented them of their Labour.

I found here ten Frankes newly come the neerest way from Venice hither, sixe of them were Germanes, noble Gentlemen, and they also good Protestants, who were wonderfull glad to heare me tell the Guardian flatly in his face, I was no Romane Catholicke, nor never thought to be: The other foure Frankes were Frenchmen, two of them Parisians old men, the other two of Provance, all foure being Papists: with nine other Commercing Frankes, also that dwelt in Syria and Cyprus, most of them beeing Venetians, who were all glad of me, shewing themselves so kinde, so carefull, so loving, and so honourable in all respects, that they were as kind Gentle-men, as ever I met withall, especially the Germaines.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Jerusalem and Jordan



JERUSALEM standeth in the same place where old Jerusalem stood, but not so populous, neither in each respect of breadth, or length so spacious. The walles are high and strongly builded, which adorne Jerusalem more then any thing within it, the Holy Grave excepted. It is of circuite about three miles, and a halfe of our measure

This City hath beene oft conquered by enemies: and lastly, by Sultan Selim, or Solyman the Emperour of the Turkes, Anno 1517. joyning the holy Land together with Ægypt to his Empire, who fortified the same, being by Infidels detayned to this day: and by likelihood shall keepe it to the consummation of the world, unlesse God of his mercy deale otherwise, then the hopes of mans weake judgement can expect. Whence truely I may say, that when fortune would change friendship, she disleagueth conditionall amity, with the senselesse litargy of foule ingratitude. This City is now governed by a Sanzack or Subbassaw, being placed there by the Bassaw of Damascus, whose Deputie he is; the other being chiefe Ruler under the Grand Signior over all the holy Land and the halfe of Siria. There is a strong Garrison kept alwayes in Jerusalem, to withstand the Arabish invasions, consisting of eight hundred Souldiers, Turkes, and Moores, who are vigilant in the night and circumspect in the day time, so that none can enter the Towne without their knowledge; nor yet goe forth.

About two of the clock on Palme-sunday after dinner, for all of us eate, drunke, and lay in the Monastery, each of us paying a Piaster a day for our dyet, sixe shillings

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starling, besides all other costs and charges: The Guardian I say, departed from Jerusalem to Bethphage: accompanied with twelve Friers, and many other Orientall Christians, which were come thither to that Festivall time, but I by no meanes would go, neither would the six Germans, but reposing our selves on the top or platforme of the Cloyster, we stayed till their returne: And yet from this place, we saw their back-comming from Bethphage as they crossed the lower and South side of Olivet; devalling downeward, toward the valley of Jehosophat to ascend Mount Sion, for the greater performance of their foolery.

The rediculous Ceremony which that day they use, is thus: in an Apish imitation of Christ, at the foresayd Bethphage, there was an Asse brought to the Guardiano, whereupon hee mounted (being as it were, the greater Asse, riding upon the lesser) and came riding to Jerusalem, the people cutting downe Boughs of trees, and also dispoyling themselves almost to the skin, bestrewed the way as hee Rode along, crying, Hosanna, Hosanna, the Sonne of David, blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord: untill they came to the south gate of Syon, where the Guardian thought to have entred, Riding through Jerusalem to his monastery, with this shouting convoy of sixe thousand Orientall Christians, because their Patriarkes have not that liberty to do so, as this Italian Guardian: Notwithstanding, the clamour of the people incensed so the Turkish Garrison lying at this Gate, that they not onely abused the poore Christians in their ignorant devotion, but they pulled the Guardian also from the Asses backe, beating him most cruelly, and all the rest of the Friers and Francke Pilgrimes that were with him: Where at last entring the Convent, most of them

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came in groaning, and loden with blacke and bloody blowes; whereat I, and the other Protestants, did laugh in our sleeves to behold their foolish Procession, so substantially rewarded.

At night after Supper, the Guardiano knowing that I was a Protestant, and also these other Germanes, made an Oration, saying: You Pilgrims, who refuse to be participant with us in the Sacraments, nor wil not adhere to our Masses, processions and Ceremonies which we follow of the Roman Church: I would therfore intreat you (your liberty being here as much as mine, whereby you may do as you please) onely to abstaine from scandalling and mocking our Rites and ordinary Customes, which at this great feast we must performe: To which we condescended, and promised to give no occasion of offence, seeing our outward carriage in going along with them to see their customes, tended no way to hurt the inward disposition of our soules.

In the conclusion of his long Exhortation, hee disclosed this admonition, saying: All of you Travailleurs must in general be indued with these three worthy gifts, Faith, Patience, & Mony: Faith, to beleeeve these things you shall see here at, and about Jerusalem; Patience, to indure the injuries of Infidels; and Money, to discharge all tributes, and costs, which here (meaning in his owne Monastery) and about this City must be defrayed. His Sermon he concluded like a Grey Frier, as indeede hee was: for I am fully perswaded hee little cared for our Faith, and Patience, providing, that our purses could answer his expectation, as truly we found the condigne trial thereof afterward: making our Patience to startle, our Faith to over-top his lyes, and our monies to bee a

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slave to his greed; and wee left the last tributary spoyles of two extortionable flatterers, Avarice, and Ignorance; with the which our Reverend Guardian was fully invested.

Monday earely, we Pilgrimes went forth to view the monuments within the Citty, being accompanied with the Padre Viccario, and a French Predicatore. As we were spending that day in these sights, the Guardian had prepared one hundred souldiers, sixty horse-men, and forty foot-men, to take with him the day following, for his conduction to Jordan, and the mountaine in the Wilderness where Christ fasted; which is his usuall custome once every yeare betweene Palme-sunday and Easter, returning againe before Good-friday. These places cannot be viewed, save onely at that time; neither may a Pilgrime goe along with the souldiers, unlesse he give the value of seven Crownes or Piasters (as a propyne) unto the Lieutenant, being forty two shillings starling: and if the Traveller will not goe to that charge, he may stay there till their returne, which I would not wish him to doe, if possibly he may spare the money, for the sight of Sodome, and Jordans sake. That same night after supper, the Guardian demanded of us Travellers, if we would goe with him to see these memorable, & singular things, upon the former condition: To whom we answered in a generall consent, we would, and so payed our moneyes.

Earely upon Tuesday morning all the Friers and Pilgrimes being mounted on Mules save onely pedestriall I, and two Mules loaden with our provision of victuals; we departed from the City, about our nine of the clocke in the forenoone, keeping our faces South-east, and leaving Bethphage and Bethany on our left hand, wee had pleasant travelling for seaven miles; but in the afternoone wee

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entred in a barren and desart Countrey till Sun-setting: where at last wee arrived at a standing Well, and there refreshing our selves and the beasts, wee reposed till two houres within night. After that the Captaine had cried March Away: we set forward, being well guarded round about with our keepers, because we entred into a dangerous way, and a most desolate and fabulous soile.

In all this deformed Countrey, wee saw neyther house, nor Village, for it is altogether desartuous and inhabited onely by wilde Beasts and naked Arabians. Before wee came neere to Sodom and Gomorrah, by seaven miles: we I say incountred with such deep sandy ground, that the Mulets were not able to carry our Company through: Whereupon they all dismounted, wrestling, and wading above the middle part of their bodies, and sometimes falling in over their heads, they were in great danger of perishing, although the robustnesse of my body carried mee through on my feete, relieving also divers times some of these Friers and Pilgrimes, that were almost choaked and overwhelmed with Sand, but not for lacke of Wine. Even in the midst of this turmoyling paine, (the night being darke) the unwelcomed Arabs, environed, and invaded us with a storme of Arrowes, which they sent from the tops of little hard hils, whereupon they stood, for knowing the advantage of the ground: they tooke opportunity to give the more feareful assaults: yet they prevailed nothing (although they wounded some of our Souldiers) such was the resolute Courage of our valourous Defendants. True it is, that in all my travailes I was never so sore fatigated, nor more fearefully indangered, as I was that night.

A little after midnight, these Savages leaving us, and wee leaving our troublesome way, we accoasted the Lake

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of Sodom, and marched along the marine shoare above nine miles before we came to Jordan. Approaching to the banke-side, we dismounted, and uncloathed our selves, going in naked to the River, we washed us to refresh our bodies; our Souldiers lying a little off from us, as pledges of our lives, and their owne safegards, stayed as Bulwarks for our protection.

The water of Jordan hath beene transported to Venice in barrels, for that purity it hath; which will reserve unspoiled, both moneths and yeares, and the longer it is kept, it is the more fresher; and to drinke it, is an excellent remedy for the fever quartan or quotidian, being neare in vertue to the Wine of Lebanon.

Considering the auncient reputation of this famous river, and the rare sight of such an unfrequented place, I climbed up to the top of a Turpentine tree, which grew within the limited flood, a little above where I left my company even naked, as I came from swimming, and cut downe a faire hunting rod of the heavy and sad Turpentine tree, being three yards long, wondrous straight, full of small knots, and of a yellowish colour; which afterward, with great paines, I brought to England, and did present it (as the rarest gemme of a Pilgrimes treasure) to his Majesty. But I remember in the choosing thereof an unexpected accident fell out: For I being sequestrat from the sight of the company, upon this solitary tree, with broad obscuring leaves, the Friers and Souldiers removed; keeping their course towards Jericho: but within two furlongs from Jordan, they were beset with the former Nocturnall enemies, who assailed them with a hard conflict: For I hearing the Harquebuse go off, was straight in admiration, and looking downe to the place where I

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left my associates, they were gone; so bending my eyes a little further in the Plaine, I saw them at a martiall combate: which sight gave me suddenly, the threatning of despaire: not knowing whether to stay intrenched, within the circundating leaves, to approve the events of my auspicious fortunes: Or in prosecuting a reliefe, to be participant of their doubtfull deliverance.

In the end pondering, I could hardly, or never escape their hands, either there, or by the way going up to Jerusalem, leapt downe from the tree, leaving my Turkish cloathes lying upon the ground, tooke onely in my hand the rod & Shasse which I wore on my head; and ranne starke naked above a quarter of a mile amongst thistles, and sharpe pointed grasse, which pittifully pricked the soles of my feete, but the feare of death for the present, expel'd the grieve of that unlooked for paine. Approaching on the safe side of my company, one of our Souldiers broke forth on horsebacke, being determined to kill mee for my staying behinde: Yea, and three times stroke at me with his halfe-pike; but his horse being at his speed, I prevented his cruelty, first by falling downe, next by running in amongst the thickest of the Pilgrimes, recovering the Guardians face, which when the Guardian espied, and saw my naked body, hee presently pulled off his gray gowne, and threw it to me, whereby I might hide the secrets of nature: By which meanes, (in the space of an houre) I was cloathed three manner of wayes: First, like a Turke: Secondly, like a wild Arabian: And thirdly, like a grey Frier, which was a barbarous, a savage, and a religious habit.

The Captaine at last entering in parley with the Arabs, by some contributing promises did mitigate their fury, for their compounded acknowledgement was to be sent

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them from Jerusalem: Whereupon, wee marching toward Jericho, reposed our selves under a cooling shade, and dined there on the Wine and provision carryed with us.

After Dinner wee arose, and went to the House of Zacheus: (this was hee who sate uppon a Tree to see our Saviour as he passed by,) the Wals whereof stand to this day, the tecture being onely demolished. This new Jericho is now a poore Village onely of nine dwelling houses, inhabited by a kinde of Arabs (which are in subjection under the Governour of Jerusalem,) but I saw many ruinous lumpes of the Wals, and demolishings of the old Towne, which is a little from this distant, about a short quarter of a mile.

Here I saw two most dainty kinde of fruites, the one was a little lesser then an Apple, but more round: whose colour was like gold without, and within it was White as Snow, and sweete like Suger. I would gladly have eaten of them; but the Friers forbade me, saying; they were the onely pest of Death unto a stranger. The other Apple was like to a greene Lemmon, long, and full of knots, of a reddish colour, like to a Mellone: being both delicate and wholesome, of which wee did eate to satisfie the naturall appetite, and so did all our Souldiers eate of them excessively: their Trees growing high and greene by a Brooke side of delicate Water that runneth from the fountaine of Elizeus.

From Jericho we set forward, in the way of the Wildernesse; our determination being such, as to view the mountaine whereon Christ fasted forty dayes: Where arrived, being late, we durst not go up til morning. Wherefore we pitched that night by the fountayne of Elizeus; the Water of which, was of old, naturally bitter,

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but by the prayers of that divine Prophet, was restored to a sweet tast: It is good in digestion, and harmelesse for health: and it is the lightest water the earth yeelds: having on the morrow filled a Boares skin of it, to carry with me to the mountaine; I found it so light, that I had no weight nor paine in the bearing of it on my shoulders: notwithstanding, the way of it selfe was fastidious. This mountain is called Quarantanam, or Quaranto,¹ being of height, by the computation of my painefull experience, above sixe miles, and groweth from the bottome still smaller and smaller, till that the top is covered with a little Chappell, not unlike to the proportion of a Pyramede.

There is no way to ascend upon this Hill, save one, which hath beene hewen out of the Rocke, by the industry of men, experimented in Masonry; (which was done at the cost of Queene Helen) going up by the Degrees of forty five turnes. In all our Company there were onely one Frier, foure Germanes, and I, that durst attempt to climbe the mountaine.

Thursday earely at the breach of day, we sixe made us for the mountaine, leaving our Souldiers to guard the passage below, least some stragling Arabs should have stolne after us for our Destruction. Where after diverse turnings, traversings, and narrow foot passages having come with great difficulty to the top, we entred first into a umbragious Cave, joyning to, and under the Chappell, where the Frier told us, that in this place Christ did fast forty dayes: and here it was, where he rebuked Sathan. The Chappel which covereth the top of this high and steepy Rocke is covered, and also beautified, with an old

¹ The mountain of the Temptation, lit. of the forty days.

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Altar: betweene the outward sides whereof, and the craggy face of this mountaine, two men may only go side to side: Here we dined and refresht our selves with water that I carried on my backe hither: From which place we saw the most part of all the Holy Land, except the North parts, and a great way in Arabia.

At last in our Returne and fearefull descending, there would none of us goe downe formost: For although the Frier led us freely upwards, yet first downeward for his life hee durst not goe: and that because at the narrow end of every turning, there was aye betweene the upper and the lower passage, about my height, and some where twice my height, of the flat face of the Rocke, whereon there was nothing but dimples and holes to receive our feete, which in descending was perillous. Now the greatest danger, at every turne, was in the downe going of the formost, who was to receive, them all, one by one, and foote their feet in the shallow dimples: of which if any of them had missed, his sliding downe had miscarried them both over the Rocke.

Now for the noble Germanes sake, two of whom were great Barends, Signior Strowse, and Signior Crushen, and borne Vassals to the Marquesse of Ansbach, I resolved to imbrace the danger: Where downe I went, receiving every one of them, at every turne, first leading their feete by my hands, and then by inveloping them with mine armes: Well, having past halfe way downewards, wee came to the most scurrile and timorous Discent of the whole passage, where with much difficulty, I set safe the foure Germanes in our narrow Rode hewen out of the craggy Hill; and then was to receive the Frier; Whence hee comming downe from above, with his Belly and face

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to the Rocke, holding his hands grumbling above, the fellow fell on trembling; and as I was placing his feete in the holes, distempred feare brought him downe upon me with a rushling hurle: Whereuppon straight I mainly closed with my left arme his body fast to the Rocke, keeping strongly my Right shoulder to the same place: For I could not have saved my selfe, and letting him fall, but hee would have caught mee headlong with him, over the Rocke: And yet the Germanes cryed still to me, Let that Villaine fall to the ground with the Divell, and save, O deare brother, your owne life: But I neyther would nor durst: at last his feare, by my incouragement having left him, I suffered him to slide softly downe betweene my arme and the Rocke, to the solid path: Where by and by, hee fell downe uppon his knees, and gave mee a thousand Blessings, vowing for this, he would doe me a great good deede before I left Jerusalem.

At last towards the afternoone, wee safely arrived at the foote of the Mountayne, and having saluted the Guardian, and all the Rest, who then were ready to take journey, the Frier told his Reverence how I had saved his life: Whereupon the Guardian, and the other Friars, did imbrace me kindly in their Armes, giving me many earnest and loving thanks.

And now the Souldiers and wee having travailed sore and hard that afternoone, wee arrived at Jerusalem an houre within night, for the Gate was kept open a purpose for us and our Guard: and entring our Monastery, wee supped, and rested our selves till midnight; having marched that halfe Day, more as 34. miles. A little before midnight, the Guardian and the Friars, were making themselves ready to goe with us to the Church of the Holy

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Sepulcher, called Sancto Salvatore; where wee were to stay Good-friday and Satturday, and Easter-Sunday till mid-night: They tooke their Cooke with them also to dresse our Dyet, carrying Wine, Bread, Fishes, and Fruites hither in abundance. Meane while, a Jew, the Trench-man of the Turkies Sanzacke, came to the Monastery, and received from every one of us Pilgrimes, first two Chickens of Gold, for our severall heads, and entrey at Jerusalem: and then nine Chickens a peece for our in going to the Holy Grave; and a Chicken of golde a man, to himselfe the Jew, as beeing due to his place.

Thus was there twelve Chickens from each of us dispatched for the Turke: And last one, and all of us, behoved to give to the Guardian two Chickens also for the Waxe Candles and fooleries hee was to spend, in their idle and superstitious Ceremonies, these three aforesayd nights, which amounted in all to every one of us, to foureteene Chickens of gold, sixe pounds sixe shillings starling. So that in the whole from the sixe Germanes, foure French men, and nine Commercing Franks in Cyprus and Syria, Venetians, and Ragusans, and from my selfe, the summe arose for this nights labour to a hundred and twenty sixe pounds starling.

This done, and at full mid-night wee came to the Church where wee found twelve Venerable like Turkes, ready to receive us, sitting in the Porch without the Doore; who foorthwith opened at randome the two great Brazen halves of the Doore, and received us very respectfully; We being within the doore made fast, and the Turkes returned to the Castle.

There are seven sorts of Nations, different in Religion, and language, who continually (induring life) remaine

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within this Church, having incloystered lodgings joyning to the walls thereof: their victuals are brought dayly to them by their familiars, receiving the same at a great hole in the Church-doore; for the Turkes seldome open the entry unlesse it be when Pilgrimes come, save one houres space onely every Saturday in the afternoone, and at some extraordinary Festivall daies: and yet it doth not stand open then, but onely opened to let strangers in and shut againe: For this purpose each family have a Bell fastened at their lodging, with a string reaching from thence to the Church doore, the end whereof hangeth outwardly. By the which commodity, each furnisher ringing the Bell, giveth warning to his friends, to come receive their necessars, for through the body of the Church they must come to the porch-doore, and returne from it, to the cloyster.

The number of those, who are tied to this austere life, are about three hundred and fifty persons, being Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Æthiopians, Jacobites, a sort of circumcised Christians, Nestorians, and Chelfaines of Mesopotamia.¹

¹ With the fall of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem the Latins lost their supremacy in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The keys were given to two Moslem families who still hold them, and the struggle amongst the various Christian communities for leadership is the conspicuous feature in the history of the Church. At the time when Lithgow visited Jerusalem, the quarrel was nearing its height. In spite of *firmans* in favour of the Orthodox during the seventeenth century, the Latins seem to have the first place at its close. The same century saw the withdrawal of several communities unable to support the dues exacted by the Turks; the evidence of travellers shows that the process had been going on for some time. In 1494, Casola, a canon of Milan, enumerates nine participants, while about a century later a German Rauwolff only mentions eight; early in the seventeenth century Lith-

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The day before the Resurrection, about the houre of mid-night, the whole Sects and sorts of Christians Orientall (that were come thither in Pilgrimage, and dwelt at Jerusalem) convened together, which were about the number of sixe thousand men, women and children: for being separated by the Patriarkes in two companies, they compassed the Chappell of the Holy Grave nine times; holding in their hands burning Candles, made in the beginning pittifull, and lamentable regreerings, but in the ending, there were touking of kettle-drummes, sounding of horne-trumpets, and other instruments, dauncing, leaping, and running about the Sepulcher, with an intollerable tumult, as if they had beene all mad, or distracted of their wits.

Thus is the prograce of their procession performed in meere simplicitie, wanting civilitie, and government. But the Turkes have a care of that; for in the midst of all this hurley burley, they runne amongst them with long Rods, correcting their misbehaviour with cruell stroakes: and so these slavish people, even at the height of their Ceremonious devotion are strangely abused.

But our Procession begun before theirs, and with a greater regard, because of our tributes: The Turkes meane while guarding us, not suffering the other Christians to be participant in the singular dottage of the Romish folly, being after this manner: First the Guardian, and his Friers brought forth of a Sacrastia, allotted for the

gow reduces them to seven; and at the end of the century, according to both Cornelius van Bruyn and the Rev. Henry Maundrell, only four remain—the Latins, the Greeks, the Armenians and the Copts. The inclusion of both Armenians and Chelfanes in Lithgow's list is a mistake, and he omits the Copts.

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same purpose, the wodden Portrature of a dead Corpses, representing our Saviour, having the resemblance of five bloody Wounds, the whole body of which Image, was covered with a Cambricke vail: Where having therewith thrice compassed the Chappell of the Holy Grave, it was carried to mount Calvary, and there they imbalmed the five Timber holes; with Salt, Oyle, Balme, and Odoriferous perfumes.

Then the Guardian, and the other twelve Friers kneeled downe and kissed each one of the five Suppositive Wounds: the Turkes meanwhile laughing them to scorne in their faces, with miserable derision. Thence they returned, and layd the senselesse blocke uppon the Holy Grave, whence being dismissed, the Papall Ceremony ended.

Here the Guardiano offered for ten peeces of gold (although my due be thirty Chickens sayd he) to make me Knight of the holy Grave, or of the order of Jerusalem, which I refused, knowing the condition of that detestable oath I behooved to have sworne; but I saw two of these other Pilgrimes receive that Order of Knighthood.

The manner whereof is thus: First they bind themselves with a solemne vow, to pray (during life) for the Pope, King of Spaine, and the Duke of Venice, from whom the Friers receive their maintenance; and also in speciall, for the French King, by whose meanes they obtaine their liberty of the great Turke, to frequent these monumentall places. Secondly, they are sworne enemies to Protestants, and others, who will not acknowledge the superiority of the Romane Church. Thirdly, they must pay yearely some stipend unto the Order of the Franciscans. These attestations ended, the Frier putteth a gilded spurre on his right

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hee, causing the yong made Knight stoope downe on his knees, and lay his hands on the holy Grave: after this he taketh a broad sword from under his gray gowne (being privately carried for feare of the Turkes) which is (as he sayd) the Sword, wherewith victorious Godfrey conquered Jerusalem, and giveth this new upstart Cavaliero, nine blowes upon the right shoulder. Loe here the fashion of this Papisticall Knighthood, which I foresooke.

Indeed upon the Knight-hood they have certaine privileges among the Papists, of which these are two: If a malefactor being condemned and brought to the Gallows, any of these Knights may straight cut the rope and releeve him: The other is, they may carry and buy silkes through all Spaine and Italy, or elsewhere, and pay no Custome, neither in comming nor going, nor for any silke ware, where the Romish Church hath any commandement.

Now in Jerusalem, wee eleaven Frankes stayed three dayes longer, preparing our selves for a new Voyage to go downe to Egypt with a Caravan of Grand Cairo: In which time the aforesaid Frier Laurenzo, whose life I had saved on the Quarantanam, propined me privatly with twelve Crosses made of the Olive Wood of mount Olivet: Each Crosse having 24. Relickes indented in them, with fourty paire of Chaplets made of that same Wood, two Turkish Handkerchiefes, and three paire of Garters and Girdles of the Holy Grave: All wrought in silke and Gold, with diverse other things, &c. Which were not so thankfully received, as they were thankfully given, by a gratefull and unforgetfull Frier.

Meanwhile, the last day of our staying there, we went all of us Friers and Pilgrimes in againe to the Holy Grave, where we remained al night. Earely on the morrow there

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came a fellow to us, one Elias Areacheros, a Christian inhabitour at Bethlehem, and purveier for the Friers; who did ingrave on our severall Armes upon Christs Sepulcher the name of Jesus, and the Holy Crosse; beeing our owne option, and desire: and heere is the Modell thereof. But I, decyphered, and subjoynd below mine, the four incorporate Crowns of King James, with this Inscription, in the lower circle of the Crowne, Vivat Jacobus Rex: returning to the fellow two Piasters for his reward. Which when the Guardian understood, what I had done in memory of my Prince upon that Sacred Tombe, hee was greatly offended with me, that I should have polluted that Holy place, with the name of such an Arch-enemy to the Romane Church. But not knowing how to mend himselfe, and hearing me to recite of the Heroick Vertues of our matchlesse Monarch: who for Bounty, Wisedome, and Learning, was not paragonized among all the Princes of the earth: His fury fell; and begun to intreate me, to make it knowne to his Majesty, that hee never allowed any support to their afflicted lives, neyther any gratuity for maintayning of those Sacred Monuments at Jerusalem, his subjects being as free here as they. Which indeed I performed, for after my arrivall in England, and having propined his Majesty with diverse rare things, and a Turpentine rod from Jordan; in the midst of my Discourses, I told his Highnesse, in the Privy Garden of Greenewich, the Guardians request. Who indeed gave me a most gracious answeare, saying, They never sought any helpe of him, and if they had, he would have supported their necessity.

Bidding farewell to the Church of St. Salvatore, and being re-incloystred againe, after breakfast, the reckoning

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of Stridor Dentium, came to us, for 17. dayes diet, being to each man six shillings a day, amounting for my part to 5 pounds two shillings. Then the Guardians Secretary, presented me my Patent under their Great Seale; & that cost me 3. Chickens of Gold. The Contents whereof, reciting all the memorable things I saw within the Holy Land, there was thereunto annexed their Great Seale, sticking fast, or locked in upon the lower face of the Parchment, the impression whereof, had the Effigies of the twelve Apostles, and Christ in the midst.

Then had we avaricious Baptista our Guide and Interpreter to reward, every one of us propining him with two Chickens of gold: And lastly wee gratified the gaping Steward, the Cerberian Porter, the Cymerian Cooke, and his Ætnean face, with a Chicken of gold the man, from each of us: amounting in all among the foure Catzocullioni, to twenty foure pounds fifteene shillings sterling.

Nay this was not all; for even when the Ægyptian Caravan, was staying for us without the City, the Guardian made a begging Sermon to us, imploring our bounties to commiserate and support their great calamities, losses, and oppressions inflicted upon them by the Infidels, with many other base & flattering speeches: which indeed nine of us refused, because of the great Extortion he had imposed upon us before; but the two Germane Barons gave him the value of sixe English pounds, or thereabouts.

And now finally, or I leave mount Sion, I thinke it not amisse, to give the itching Travailer a frozen stomacke, who perhaps soweth Words in the Wind, conceptions in the Ayre, and catcheth Salmon swimming on Atlas: I

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will now (I say) justly cast up to him the charges I defrayed within the Wals of Jerusalem, not reckoning my journall expences and tributs else where abroad; arising to eighteene pounds sixteene shillings starling.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Road to Cairo



MAY the twelfth, about mid-day, the other ten and I joyned with the Caravan, who formerly had conditioned with us to carry us to Ægypt, and to furnish the rest Camels or Dromidories to ride upon, (for I would never ride any) for nineteene Piasters the man, discharging us also all tributes and Caffars were to be imposed upon us by the way.

Having bid farewell to Sion, we marched that afternoone in the way of Gaza; and arrived at night in a goodly Village, more full of Jewes than Moores, situate on the face of a fruitfull hill, and the last limit of Judea: Here the Germanes and I were well intertained gratis, by certaine Jewes that spoke Italian, and much rejoyced to see such strangers in these bounds, for two of them had beene borne in Venice: The Captaine, and our company were all Ægyptians, all of them being Christians, called Coptics, viz. beleevers: Their number was about eight hundred persons, who had come up from Ægypt, to dignify for devotions sake this Easter time, being the great feast of Jerusalem; Of whom by the way we received great affability & kind respect without any offence.

That night the whole Caravan lay in the fields, and we stayed within the Towne making merry with our Hebraik friends.

Earely the next morning wee imbraced our Idumean way, finding this Edomitish land sorely distressed by the Arabs, and yet the Inhabitants were subject to the Turke: In this long dayes journey we found abundance of water, and all other necessities for our relief, and yet the people

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were both rude & extreame barbarous, having no more show of humanity then the foure footed Leopards of Berdoa. The Dutch Gentlemen grew affrayed at these savages, as being unacquainted before with such an awful sight.

Againe night we declined towards Gaza, and there stayed in a fine Cane prepared for Travellers; where the whole Caravan, Souldiers, Camels, Dromodores, Mules, and Asses were all well satisfied and refreshed: The next morning we went to the Bezestan or market place, and there furnished our selves with provision of Bread, Hens, Egges, Garlick, and Onions, sufficient enough to carry us through the desarts being ten dayes journey.

Gaza now is composed of twelve hundred fire-houses and sensible against the incursions of Arabs: The ruvid Cittizens, being Turkes, Moores, Jews, domeseticke Arabians, with a few Georgians, & Nostranes. There is a Garrison here of Souldiers, and a Turkish Captaine, that commandeth the Towne and Castle.

In the afternoone, we set our faces forward to that fearefull Wildernesse, and travailed or night twelve miles, pitching our Tents beside a source or standing Well. Here our Guard, kept a strict Watch about us all night; and I kept as well the Germanes from langour, cherishing them with joviall merriments, for they were my inward friends, yet of a faint and fearefull nature. At the breach of day we set forward, passing through diverse Rocky and shrubby heights, till afternoone, and then wee declined to a sandy valley: Where when come, what with the deepnesse of the Way, and the great heate reflexing upon the sand, and from the Sand to our faces, we were miserably turmoiled, especially I, who went alwayes on foote.

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Having past this wearisome bottome, and before night marching along the skirt of a craggy Hill, two hundred Arabs broake out upon us from holes and bushes, and shrewdly annoyed our Company with Arrowes, till a contribution of sixteene Piasters was sent to them. The halfe of that night we pitched our Tents, in a pastorable plaine, where some scattering Arabs, sold us Water in Wooden Cups, carrying it in Wilde Boare skins upon their naked backs. Two of which Savages our Captayne hyred, to guide us the next day to the first Castle of the three, that were built by the Turkes, and a dayes journey distant one from another; beeing each of them strongly guarded with Souldiers, and that for the reliefe of Caravans, being the most dangerous, and most desolate place in the Desarts.

Our Guides the day following, brought us through the best and safest places of the Country, where we found certayne profitable parts, planted with haire-cloath tents, and over-cled heere and there with spots of Sheepe and Goates: and yet were we not there without the invasion of stragling Arabs, and paying of tributes, which the Captaine defrayed for us, our condition being formerly made so at Jerusalem. Before night with great heat, and greater drouth, we approached to the first Castle, where the Captayne thereof received us kindly, causing our Tents to be pitched round about the Quadrangled Tower. Here we had abundance of Water (though I would rather have had Wine) to suffice the whole Company, drawne out of a Cisterne, and reposing safely uppon the hard ground, the Castle Garrison watched us, and our guard watched them.

Thence with a new Guide the sequell morne, we marched through a fiery faced plaine, scorch'd with burn-

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ing heate, and deepe rolling Sand, where diverse of our smallest Beasts perished, with sixe men and Women also in relieving their overwhelmed Asses. Long or mid-day, having got to a hard height, we pitched our Tents, reposing under their shaddowes till the evening, for wee were not able to indure the intollerable heate of the Sun; and so did wee likewise over-umbrate our selves every mid-day. The vigour of the day gone, and the cooling night come, we advanced forward to the middle Castle, being led by our Guide, and the pale Lady of the night leading him: Where when come, wee found neyther that Fort answerable to the former in strength, nor the Captaine so humane as the other was: Here wee were all offended with the scarcity of Water, the Captayne playing the Villaine, crossed us, because the Caravanship were Christians; at last about mid-night some 30. Arabs, came to us loaden with Water, carried on their backes. To whom we payed for every Caraff, beeing an English quart, three Aspers of silver, ten Aspers going to a shilling: Whereof my kinde Dutch-men drunke too much, the Water being thicke and of a brounish colour; and hot like pisse, offended their over-wained stomackes; which as I supposed, was the chiefest cause the next day of some of their Deaths.

After mid-night, the Turkish Captaine, and our Caravan fell at variance, about Water to our Beasts, who were ready to choake, and if they had not bin prevented with Souldiers on both sides, it had drawne us and them, to a finall mischiefe. The discord unpacified, before the following day, and within night, we imbraced our wilsome and fastidious Way, journeying through many dens, and umbragious Caves, over-shaded with mouldring heights;

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in some whereof we found Savage Women lying in their Barbarous child-bed: having their bodies naked (the foreface of their Wombe excepted) their beds were made of soft Sand, and over-spread with leaves a foote thicke; whose new borne Babes lying in their armes, were swaddled with the same Leaves. And for all their sicknesse, which was very small, they had none of our Wives sugred sops, burnt Wines, Venison pasties, Delicate fare, and great Feasting, nor a moneths lying in, and then Churched, putting their husbands to incompatible charges. No, no, their food is onely Bread, Garlicke, Hearbes, and Water, and on the third or fourth day, in stead of their Churching, they goe with Bowes and Arrowes to the fieldes againe, hunting for spoiles and booties from passing Caravans.

Advancing in our course, we fell downe from the hills in a long bottome of Sand, above sixe miles in length; Wherein with sore Wrestling agaynst the parching Sun, and could get no ground to pitch our Tents to over shade us; three of our Germans, the two Barons, Signior Strouse, and Signior Crushen, with our Signior Thomasio, tumbled downe from their beasts backes starke dead, being suffocated with the vigorous Sunne, for it was in May, choaked also with extreame drouth, and the reflection of the burning sand; and besides their faire was growne miserable, and their Water worse, for they had never beene acquainted with the like distresse before, though it was alwayes my Vade Mecum. Whereupon the Caravan staid and caused cast on their Corpes againe, on their owne beasts backes, and carrying them to the side of a hard Hill, we digged a hollow pit, and disspoyling them of their Turkish cloathes, I did with my owne hands cast them all three one above another, in that same hole, and

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covering the Corpes with mouldring earth, the Souldiers helped me to role heavy stones above their grave, to the end, that the bloody Jackals should not devour their corpes; and to conclude this woefull and sorrowfull accident, the other Germanes alive bestowed on me their dead friends Turkish garments, because of my love and diligent care I ever did show them; which one of their empty Mules carried for me to Grand Cairo.

Whence with diverse assaults, and greater paines, accoasting the third Castle, with as great bewailing the losse of our friends, as we had contentment in our owne safety, we found this third Captayne both humane and hospitable: Who indeede himselfe in person with his Gar-rison, watched us all night, and had a speciall care in providing Water for us all, propining our Captayne and us eight Frankes before supper, with three roasted Hens, and two Capons. But now least I sinke in Prolixity, discoursing of sinking Sands.

I will onely Epitomize in generall till mine arrivall at Salihya on the Confines of Ægypt. The people generally are addicted to Theft, Rapine, and Robberies: hating all Sciences Mechanicall or Civill, they are commonly all of the second Stature, swift on foote, scelerate, and seditious, boysterous in speech, of colour Tauny, boasting much of their triball Antiquity, and noble Gentry: Notwithstanding their garments be borne with them from the bare Belly, their food also semblable, to their ruvid condition, and as savagiously tame (I protest) as the foure footed Citizens of Lybia: They are not valourous, nor desperate in assaults without great advantage, for a 100. Turkes is truely esteemed to be sufficient enough to incounter 300. Arabs.

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The most part of these Desarts is neither fit for herbage nor tillage, being covered over with a dry, and a thicke Sand, which the wind transporteth whither it listeth, in heapes and mountaines, that often intercept and indanger fatigated Travellers. The Inhabitants here are few, so are their Cities, their dwellings being in sequestrate dennes and haire-cloath Tents: The most of their wealth consisteth in Camels, Dromidories, and Goats.

Before our arrivall in Salihya, we passed the little Istmus of ground which parteth Asia, and Affrica, disjoyn- ing the Mediterranean and the red Seas: Divers have attempted to digge through this strait to make both Seas meete for a nearer passage to India, of whom Sesostri- King of Ægypt was the first: Secondly, Darius the great Persian Monarch: Thirdly, another Ægyptian King, who drew a ditch 100. foote broad, and 30. and odde miles long. But when he intended to finish it, he was forced to cease, for feare of overflowing all the lower land, the red Sea being found to be higher by three cubits than the ordinary plaine of Ægypt: Yet howsoever it was, the ditch is hollow in divers parts, and fastidious, because of sands to passe over.

At Salihya we overtooke a great Caravan of two thousand people, and twelve hundred Camels and Dromidores, which were loaden with the ware of Aleppo, and come from Damascus, intending their voyage for Cairo, whose company we subtilly left, & marchd before them, for receiving of water by the way for our selves, and beasts out of Cisternes, which we left dry behind us.

A Dromidore, and Camel differ much in quality, but not in quantity, being of one height, bredth, and length;

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save only their heads and feete, which are proportionated alike; and the difference is such, that the Dromidory hath a quicke and hard-reaching trot, and will ride above 80. miles in the day, if that his rider can indure the paine. But the Camell is of a contrary disposition: For he hath a most slow and lazy pace, removing the one foote from the other, as though he were weighing his feete in a ballance; neither can he goe faster although he would: But he is a great deale more tractable then the other: For when his maister loadeth him, he falleth downe on his knees to the ground, and then riseth againe with his burthen, which will be marvailous great, sometimes 600. or 800. weight.

The Red Sea, which we left to the Westward of us, and our left hand is not red, as many suppose, but is the very colour of other Seas: The reason for which it hath beene called Mare rubrum, is only because of the bankes, rushes, sands & bushes that grow by the shore side, which are naturally red. Some others have called it so, in respect of the Brookes, which Moses turned to red blood, who misconstruing the true sense, tooke Seas, for Rivers. This Sea is famous for the miraculous passage of the Israelites through it, and the drowning of Pharoah and his people: and because of Spices that were brought from India and Arabia to Alexandria, from whence the Venetians dispersed the same through all Europe and the Mediterren coasts of Asia and Africa: But this Navigation is now discontinued by the Portugals, English, and Dutch; which bring such Wares to their severall homes by the backe side of Affricke: So that the Trafficke of Alexandria is almost decayed, and the Riches of the Venetians much diminished; so is the vertue of the Spices much impayred

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by too much moisture contracted, with the long and tedious carriage thereof.

This afore-sayd Salihya, is thought to be seated on the lower and Eastmost end of Goshen, consisting of eight hundred dwelling Houses, being Walled and fensible against the Arabs, and defended also with a Castle, and ten troupes of Horse-men being Janizaries. Here we rested and refreshed our selves two nights, providing us fresh victuals for Grand-Cairo, being foure dayes journey distant.

Departing from Salihya, and having past one of their courses, which is our twelve miles, wee reincountred with infinite Villages on both hands, and in our high Way; all builded upon artificiall Channels drawne from The Nile; and these Fabrickes, onely made up of Wood or Bricke, being one or two Stories high. The Captaine, in diverse parts at our mid-dayes reposing, was constrainyd to buy water from the Egyptians, to satisfie the Company: yea, and that same night, the first of foure, or we came to Cairo, he payed five Sultans of gold for Watering all us and the Beasts, amounting to thirty five shillings sterling.

The next day we travailed through a fruitful planure, fraught full of fruite Trees, and abounding in Wheate, Rye, and Barley, being new cut downe, May 14. For this was their first Harvest, the Land yeelding twice a yeare Cornes; and the latter, is in our December recoiled. This Land hath as it were a continuall Summer, and notwithstanding of the burning heate, it produceth alwayes abundance of Fruites and Hearbes for all the Seasons of the yeare: So that the whole Kingdome is but a Garden, having ever one Fruite ready to be plucked downe, and another comming forwards; or like to the best sort of

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Lemmon Trees, that as some Reape, some are growing greene, others budding forth, and some still in the floorish: Even so is the beauty and fertility of all the lower Ægypt; which although the Country be not often troubled with Raine, yet the rank serene or dew of the night, in the Summer, refresheth all kindes of growing things. We Francks, bad farwell to water, and drunke daily of Coffa, made of a seed Coave, which being taken hot, and is ever kept boyling within Fornaces in earthen pots, it expelleth the crudity of fruites and hearbes so much there frequented.

Arriving at last in this little World, the great Cairo, and bidding farewell to our Caravan, the three Germanes and I, lodged with one Signior Marco Antonio, a Consul, there for Venice; the other foure French men, going to their owne Consul, a Marseilian borne and there stayed. Here with this Venetian for three dayes, the Dutch men and I had great cheare, but they far greater a dayly swallowing downe of strong Cyprus Wine, without mixture of water; which still I intreated them to forbear, but they would not be requested. The reason being cruell hot, and their stomacks surfeited with burning wine, upon the fourth day long or noone, the three German men were all dead; and yet me thought they had no sicknesse, the red of their faces staying pleasant, their eyes staring alwayes on mine, and their tongues were perfitt even to the last of their breath.

He who dyed last, and lived longest, was William Dierganck, who left me all his owne gold, and what the former five had left him: delivering me the keyes of their three Clogbags before the Counsul, declared by his mouth that he left me absolute heire to intromet with all, and whatsoever they had there: But eftsoones the treacherous Con-

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sul, knowing that I was a stranger to them, and by accident met together at Jerusalem, and that they were Gentlemen, and well provided with gold, forged a reason to himselfe and for his owne benefit, that he would meddle with all they left behind them, under this excuse that he would be answerable to their friends for it, at his returne to Venice: Well, I am left to bury them, and with great difficulty bought one grave for them all three in a Copties Chappell, where I interred them: paying to the Ægyptian Christians for that eight foote of ground, ten Sultans of gold, besides sixe Piasters for carrying their corps hither, being two miles in the City distant from the Consuls house. Whence, ere I had returned, the Venetian Factor seased upon all, and shutting his gate upon my face, sent me out my owne budget: Whereupon I addressed my selfe to the French Consul, Monsieur Beauclair, who kindly received me, and having told him all the manner, how I was greatly wronged & oppressed by the other Consul; he straight sent for a Jewish Phisitian, his familiar Oracle: Where having consulted together, the next day earely we went all three, and their followers to the Beglerbeg, or governour of the City: we soone complained, and were as soone heard: the Venetian Consul is sent for, and he commeth: where facing the Judge and pleading both our best (for there are no Lawyers in Turkey, every man speaking for him selfe), the Bassaw with his Counsell upon sight of the keyes of their Clogbags in my hands, and my narration thereupon (and notwithstanding favouring the Factor) immediately determined that I should have the two part of their moneyes, with all their Jerusalem relicts, and Turkish cloathes, and the Venetian to have the former third part. It is done, and irrevocable,

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upon which the Jewish Doctor, and I, with two Janizaries came to mine adversaries house; where I giving the Jew the keyes, the Clogbags were opened, and the money being told, it came just to 1424. Chickens of gold, besides certaine rings & tablets: The Jew delivered me my part, which came to 942. Chickens, the rest went to the inconstionable Consul, with the halfe of the rings & tablets: And packing up all the relicts, moneyes, clothes, and Clogbags, I hired a Mule, and brought them along with me to the French Factors house. Where, when come, Monsieur Beauclair, and my fellow Pilgrimes, were very glad that I had sped so well, none of us all knowing what was in the Clogbags till they were sighted; & giving hearty thanks to the Consul, and ten peeces of gold to the Jew and Janizaries, I sup'd, and reposed till the morrow, thanking God of my good fortune: Yet was I exceeding sorrowfull for the losse of these gallant Gentle-men, Religiously disposed, and so affable, that for familiarity and kindnesse, they were the mirrours of noble mindes, and vertuous spectacles of humanity.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Egypt



THIS incorporate World of Grand Cairo, is the most admirable and greatest City, seene upon the earth, being thrice as large of bounds as Constantinople, and likewise so populous, but not so well builded, being situate in a pleasant Plaine, and in the heart of Ægypt, kissing Nile at some parts.

The City is divided in five Townes, first and formost, the new Cairo, which is the principall & chieftest place of all the other, lying in midst of the rest, having walles and Ports, the circuit whereof is 22. miles, contayning al the chiefe merchandise and market places within it.

The second is the old Cairo, called formerly Babylon: for there were two Babylons, one called now by the Turkes Bagdad, and the other is this that joyneth with the new Cairo: It was also aunciently called Memphis, and was the furthest place that Ulysses in his travels visited, so well memorized by Homer: yet a voyage of no such estimation, as that princely Poet accounted it; for his travels were not answerable, to the fifteene part of mine:

The third Towne is Medin, joyning to the backe side of the old Cairo, toward the Piramides: The fourth is Boulak, running a great length downe along and neare the River side, having three market places of no small account: The fift and last, is the great Towne of Caraffar, bending Southward, in the way of the red Sea for many miles: All which are but as Suburbs to the new Cairo, that of many smalles make up a Countrey, rather then a City: And yet all of them are contiguat one with another,

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either to the left or right hand, or to them both, with innumerable streets: The length whereof in all, from the lowest end of Boulak, to the South-most part of Caraffar is by my deepe experience twenty eight English miles, and fourteene in breadth; for tryall whereof I trod it one day on foote from Sun to Sunne, being guided and guarded with a riding Janizarie, which for my bruised feete on the streets, was one of the sorest dayes journey that ever I had in my life.

The streets are narrow, being all of them almost covered to save them from the parching heate with open vents for light; and their buildings commonly are two stories high, composed either of mudde or bricke, and platforme on the tops; whereon usually in the night they use to sleepe to imbrace the fresh & cooling ayre.

At the corners of chiefe streets or market places, there are divers horses standing ready saddled and bridled, that for a small matter, or according to the way, a man may hire and ride so where he will, either to negotiat, or to view this spacious spread City, and change as many horses as he listeth, having the Maisters which owe them to convoy them for lesse or longer way, which is a great ease to weary passengers.

There is a great commerce here with exceeding many nations, for by their concurring hither, it is wonderfully peopled with infinite numbers: for the Countrey aboundeth in Silkes, Cornes, Fruits, Waxe, Honey, and the soveraigne Balsamo good for all sores, besides many other commodities of Cotton-wooll, rich Stuffs of cloth of gold and silver, and the best Sattins, Damas, Taffaties, and Grograines that are made in the world are here.

The infinite populositie of which place, and the

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extreame heate, is the cause why the pest is evermore in the City: insomuch, that at some certaine times, ten thousand persons have dyed in one day: Nay, the City is reputed to be in good health, if there dye but one, or two thousand in a day, or three hundred thousand in a whole yeare, I meane, when the soare encroaching pestilence, which every third yeare useth to visite them, is rife here.

In this Towne a Traveller may ever happily finde all sorts of Christianes, and their owne Ægyptian Copties; the number of which is thought to be beyond two hundred thousand people: besides the infinite number of Infidels.

From the great Palatiat Mansion, where the Begler-Beg, or Vicegerent hath his residence, being builded on a moderate height; a man may have the full prospect of the better part of the Towne, the gardens and Villages bordering on Nile, and a great part of the lower plaines of Ægypt. Their Lawes heere and Heathnish Religion, are Turkish and Mahometanicall, and the Customes and Manners of the people, are like unto their birth and breeding, beastly and Barbarous; being great Sodomites, and Diabolically given to all sorts of abominations.

The better sort of Women here, and all the Kingdom over, weare Rings of gold or silver, through the hollow of their noses, both endes of their mouthes, and in their under lips; hanging rich pearles, and precious stones to them; wearing also about their armes faire Bracelets, and about their ancles below, broad bonds of gold or silver. To which if the baser sort can not attayne unto, then they counterfeit their Betters, with Rings, Bracelets, and bonds of Brasse, Copper, Lead, and white Iron, and thinke themselves not worthy to live, unlesse they weare these badges.

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They also use here, as commonly they do through all Turkey, the Women to pisse standing, and the men to coure low on their knees, doing the like. They weare here linnen breeches and Leather bootes as the men do, and if it were not for their covered faces, and longer gownes, wee would hardly know the one from the other.

The Inhabitants here, were the first Inventors of the Mathematicall Sciences, of Letters, and of the use of Writing: Great Magicians and Astrologians, and are yet indued with a speciall dexterity of Wit; but somewhat sloathfull, and given to Ryot and Luxury: Merry also, great Singers, and sociable Companions; and no wonder, the Land being so plentifull, and their nature libidinous, it increaseth both their insolence, and inordinate affections. Neyther doe they live long, in regard of the great heate they indure. Ægypt being placed betweene the two Tropickes, under the Torrid Zone, bringeth to passe, that seldome will any there attayne to threescore yeares of age.

In all this Land of Ægypt, which is a great Kingdome, there is no running Well or Fountayne, save onely the River Nile: Neyther do the Inhabitants scarcely know what Raine is, because they seldome see any, and if by rare accident, a Cloud happen to dissolve upon them, it bringeth to their bodies innumerable soares and diseases. And yet for abundance of Cornes, and all kind of fruites the Earth yeeldeth, there is no Country can brag with Ægypt. And notwithstanding this Kingdome produceth no Wines, neyther is garnished with Vineyards, but that which strangers make use of are brought from Crete, Cyprus, and Greece. The defect being thus, these Mahometanick Moores, observing strictly the Law of their Alcoran, wil neyther plant wines, nor suffer any to be

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planted, accounting it a deadly sin to drinke Wine, but for Coffa, and Sherpet, composed Liquors, they drinke enough of.

As for their Balsamo, the Garden wherein it groweth, lyeth neere to the South-side of Cairo, and inclosed with a high Wall, being sixe miles in compasse, and daily guarded by Turkes. To which when I came, being Conducted with a Janizary, they would not suffer me to enter, neyther any Christian, & far lesse the Jewes: For not long ago, they were the cause, that almost this Balme was brought to confusion; they having the custody of it for certayne yeares. The Tree it selfe is but of three foote height, which keepeth evermore the colour greene, having a broad three poynted leafe, which being thrice in the yeare incised in the body and branches; it yeeldeth a red Water that droppeth downe in earthen Vessels, which is the naturall Balsamo.

And not far from this Garden, in a sandy Desart, is the place called Mommeis, which are innumerable Caves cut foorth of a Rocke, whereunto the Corpes of the most men in Cairo, are carried and interred. Which dead bodies remayne alwayes unputrified, neyther yeeld they a stinking smell: Whereof experiments are plentiful at this day, by the whole Bodies, Hands, or other parts, which by Merchants are now brought from thence, and doth make the Mummia which Apothecaries use: The colour being very blacke, and the flesh clung unto the bones.

Now having viewed, and review'd this Microcosmus of the greater World, the foure French Pilgrimes and I, did hire a Janizary to conduct us to the great Pyramides, surnamed the Worlds wonders; which are distant from

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Cairo about foure Leagues, standing beside or neare to the bankes of Nile. The first and East-most we approached unto, is highest, and by our Dragomans skilfull Report, amounted to eleven hundred and twenty sixe foot. From the top of this Pyramide, our Jannizary did shoote an Arrow in the ayre with all his force, thinking thereby it should have fallen to the ground; but as we discended downe-wards, we found the Arrow lying upon the steps, scarce halfe way to the ground. Betweene the biggest Pyramide, and Nile, I saw a Colosse, or head of an Idoll, of a wonderfull greatnesse; being all of one Marble stone, erected on a round Rock. Pliny gave it the name Sphingo. Some say, that aunciently it was an Oracle, the which so soone as the Sunne set, would give an answer to the Egyptians, of any thing by them demanded.

In our way as we returned, our Dragoman shewed us (on the banke of Nile) where a Crocodile was killed the yeare before, by the ingenious policy of a Venetian Merchant, being licentiated by the Bassaw. The match whereof for bignesse and length, was never seene in that River, whose body was twenty two foote long, and in compasse of the shoulders, eight foote, who thus was slaine: This beast for foure yeares together kept alwaies about one place of the River, being seven miles above Cairo; where for a mile of ground, there was no tillage nor pastorage, being for feare of him layd wast: and neverthesse he had devoured above forty sixe persons: his custome was to come forth of the River every morning, about our eight houres; where here and there he would lurke waiting for his prey till ten, for longer from water he could not stay.

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This Venetian leaving his ship at Alexandria, and comming to Cairo, was informed by the Consul my adversary of the great spoyle done by this beast: and herewith generously he undertooke to kill it, the Vicegerent licentiating him: Whereupon going to his ship, fetched thence his Gunner, and a peece of Ordonance to Cairo.

The next day in the afternoone, hee being well horsed, and accompanied with twenty Janizaries, the peece is carried to the Crocodiles accustomed place, of forthcomming: where straight there was an Asse slaine, and hung up on two standing and a thwarting tree, with his open belly to the flood, and some twelve score paces therefrom: Behinde this carkasse, about other twelve score, the piece was planted, and levelld at the Carrion, being charged with cut iron; and a traine of powder about the touch-hole, and above it a night-house to keepe the trayne dry from the nights serene: having a cock fastned thereto, and in it a burning match, to which a string was tyed: Then forty paces behinde the piece, was there a pit digged to hide the Gunner; wherein he was put, holding the strings end in his hand, and his head vayled with a wooden covert.

After this, and about mid-night, the Horse-men retired themselves two miles off: The morning come, and the convenient time: the Crocodile courts the land: where when he saw the carkasse, came grumbling to it, and setting his two foremost feet on the Carrions middle, begun to make good cheare of the intrales: whereat the squink-eyed Gunner perceiving his time, drew the string, and giving fire, off went the piece, and shot the Crocodile in three parts: well, he is deadly wounded, and making a horrible noyse, the Gunner lay denned, and durst not

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stirre: meanwhile the beast striving to recover the water, tyred, and lying close on his belly there he dyed.

After the shot, the Horse-men drew neare, and finding the beast slaine, relieved the Gunner, and brought with them this monstrous creature to Cairo; where now his skinne hangeth in the Consuls Hall, which I saw during my stay in his house. For this piece of service, the Merchant was greatly applauded, & scorned to take from the City 500. Sultans of gold as a reward for his paines, which they freely offered him, and he as freely refused.

Now to discourse of Nile, this flood irriguateth all the low playnes of the Land, once in the yeare, which inundation, beginneth usually in the latter end of July; and continueth to the end of August: Which furnisheth with Water all the Inhabitants. From the body of Nile, there are above three thousand Channels drawne through the playne, on which passing Ditches, are all the Bourges and Townes builded; and through which Channels the River spreads it selfe through all the Kingdome. Which when scoured, of filth and Wormes, and the water become cleare, then every House openeth their Cisterne window, and receiveth as much water, as is able to suffice them till the next Inundation: Neyther doth ever the River flow any where above the Bankes, for if it should, it would overwhelme the whole Kingdome.

There are infinite venemous Creatures bred in this river, as Crocadies, Scorpions, Water-Snakes, grievous misshapen Wormes, and other Monstrous things, which oft annoy the Inhabitants, and these who Trafficke on the Water. This famous flood is in length almost three thousand miles, and hath his beginning under the Æquinoctiall Line, from montes Lunæ, but more truly from Lake

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Tsana in Æthiopia interior, whence it bringeth the full growth downe into Ægypt, and in a place of the exterior Æthiopian Alpes: The fall and roaring of Nile, maketh the people deafe that dwell neere to it.

The infallible reason, why Nile increaseth so every yeare, at such a time and continuance, is onely this; that when the Sunne declining Northward to Cancer, and warming with his vigorous face, the Septentrion sides of these mountaynes, the abundant Snow melteth: from whence dissolving in streames, to the Lake Tsana, it ingorgeth Nile so long as the matter delabiates: For benefit of which River, the great Turke is inforced, to pay yearely the tribute of fifty thousand Sultans of gold to Prester Jehan,¹ least he impede and withdraw the course of Nile to the Red Sea, and so bring Ægypt to desolation.

In Cairo I stayed twelve dayes, and having bid farewell to Monsieur Beauclair the Consul who courteously entertained me, the other foure French Pilgrimes and I embarked at Bulak in a boate. I remember our boate was double hooked with forked pikes of iron round about the sides, for feare of the Crocodiles, who usually leape up on boates, and will carry the passenger away headlong in the streame: And yet these beasts themselves are devoured

¹ During the Middle Ages the kingdom of Prester John was believed to lie in Central Asia, where the activities of Nestorian missionaries may have been responsible for this legend of a distant Christian power; it naturally gained the ready acceptance of Crusaders. But Marco Polo, at the end of the thirteenth, and Friar John of Montecorvino, at the end of the fourteenth century, are the last to give this position to Prester John. From that time onwards Abyssinia became his home, and with some reason for the Abyssinians have been Christians since the fourth century.

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by a water-Rat, of whom they taking great pleasure, and play, and gaping widely, the Rat running into his mouth, the other out of joy swalloweth it down, where the Rat for disdain commeth forth at the broad side of his belly leaving the Crocodile dead. In these parts there is a stone called Aquiline, which hath the vertue to deliver a woman from her paine in child-birth. In all this way the greatest pleasure I had, was to behold the rare beauty of certaine Birds, called by the Turkes, Ellock; whose feathers being beautified with the diversity of rarest colours, yeeld a farre off to the beholder a delectable shew: having also this propriety, the nearer a man approacheth them, the more they loose the beauty of their feathers by reason of the feare they conceive when they see a man. Upon the third day we landed at Rosetta, and came over land with a company of Turkes to Alexandria, being 50. miles distant.

Alexandria is the second Port in all Turkey: It was of old a most renowned City, and was built by Alexander the great, but now is greatly decayed, as may appeare by the huge ruines therein: It hath two havens, the one whereof is strongly fortified with two Castles, which defend both it selfe and also Porto Vecchio: The fields about the Towne are sandy, which ingender an infectious ayre, especially in the moneth of August, and is the reason why strangers fall into bloody fluxes and other heavy sicknesses. In my staying here, I was advised by a Ragusan Consul, to keepe my stomacke hot, to abstaine from eating of fruit, and to live soberly, with a temperate diet: The rule of which government, I strove diligently to observe, so did I also in all my travells prosecute the like course of a small diet, and was often too small against my will,

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by the meanes whereof (praised be God) I fell never sicke till my returne to France.

This Citty is mightily impoverished since the Trading of Spices that were brought through the red Sea, to Ægypt, and so over Land to Alexandria & its Sea-port: Whence the Venetian dispersed them over all Christendome; but are now brought home by the backe-side of Africa, by the Portugals, English, and Flemings, which maketh both Venice, and Alexandria fare the worse, for want of their former Trafficke, and commerce in these Southerne parts: whence Venice grew the mother nurse to all Europe for these Commodities, but now altogether spoyled thereof, and decayed by our Westernne Adventures, in a longer course for these Indian soyles.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Return to England



EXPECTING fifteene dayes heere in Alexandria for passage, great was the heate the French men and I indured, in so much that in the day time, we did nought but in a low roome, besprinckle the water upon our selves, and all the night lye on the top or platforme of the house, to have the ayre; where at last bidding good-night to our Greekish Host, we imbarked in a Slavonian shippe, belonging to Ragusa; and so set our faces North for Christendome; in which ship I was kindly used, and Christian-like intertayned both for victuals and passage.

In the time of our Navigation for Christendome, there dyed seaventeene of our Mariners, and all our foure French Pilgrimes, two of them being gray hayred, and 60. yeares of age, which bred no small grieve, and feare to us all, thinking that they had dyed of the plague, for it was exceeding rife in Alexandria from whence wee came.

The French men had onely left unspent among them all, threescore and nine Chickens of gold, which the Master of the Ship medled with, and because they were Papists, and they and I alwayes adverse to other, I could not clayme it. Their dead Corpes were cast over Board, in a boundlesse Grave to feed the fishes, and wee then expecting too the like mutation of Life; So likewise in our passage, we were five sundry times assayled by the Coursares and Pyrats of Tunis and Bizerta; yet unprevailing, for we were well provided with good Munition, and skilfull, Martiall, and resolute Ragusans, and a Gallant ship.

Our Ships burthen being sixe hundred Tunnes, did carry twenty eight peeces of Ordonance, two of them

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brazen; and foure score strong and stenuous Saylers, besides nine Merchants and Passengers. The greatnesse of our ship did more terrifie the roguish Runagats, then any violent defence we made: for they durst never set on us, unlesse they had beene three together; and yet we little regarded them, in respect of our long reaching Ordonance, and expert Gunners: In these Circumstances of time, I remember, almost every day, wee would see flockes of flying Fishes, scudding upon the curling waves, so long as their finnes be wet, which grow from their backe, as feathred wings doe from Fowles: But when they grow drye, they are forced to fall downe and wet them agayne, and then flye along. Their flight will bee the length of a Cables Rope, untouching Water; and in this their scudding, it is thought the Dolphin, is in persuing them, who is their onely enemy in devouring and feeding upon them; whose bignesse and length are like to Mackrels, but greater headed and shouldered.

Meanewhile in these our Courses were we seven weekes crossed with Northerly Windes, ever Tackling and boarding from the African Coast, to the shoare of Asia Minor, in all which time wee saw no Land, except the boysterous billowes of glassie Neptune: And as Ovid sayde, in the like case crossing the Ionian seas, Nil nisi pontus et aer, viz.

Nothing but Waves I view, where ships do floate
And dangers lye: huge Whales do tumbling play;
Above my head, Heavens star-imbroadred coate,
Whose vault containes, two eyes for night and day,
Far from the Maine, or any Marine Coast,
Twixt Borean blasts, and billowes we are tost.

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Now we looke out for Land, now we see Malt!
That little famous Ile, though sterre soile;
Where we'le some Bay, or Creeke seeke to assault!
Whence Ancorage, and safety ships recoile:
Now, now, let Anchor fall we're in the Road
Savely arriv'd, by Providence of God.

In this Towne of Malta, there are many Turkish and Moorish slaves, very rudely treat, yet not answerable to that cruelty the slavish Christianes indure upon their Gallies in Barbary or Turkey: The discription of Malta, I postpone to the succeeding relations of my second Travells; and after twelve daies staying here, I imbarcked in a Frigat with other passengers, and arrived at Scicli in the South-east corner of Sicily, being three score miles distant.

From thence coasting the shoare fifty miles to Syracuse, I rancounterd by the way, in a clifty Creek close by the sea side, a Moorish Brigantine, with twelve oares on each side, charged with Moores, who had secretly stayed there a night and a day stealing the people away labouring on the fields: At which sudden sight, and being hard by them, I stopped my pace. Whereupon, about twenty Moores broke out upon me, with shables & slings: But my life and liberty being deare to me, my long traced feete became more nimble in twelve score paces, than they could follow in eightheene; for I behoved to fly backe the same way I came: where, when freed, I hastned to the next Watch-tower, marine set, and there told the Centinell, how a Moorish Brigantine was lying within two miles at an obscure clift: and how hardly I escaped their hands: whereupon he making a fire on the top of the Tower, and

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from him all the Watch-towers along, gave presently warning to the contrey; so that in a moment, them of the Villages came downe on horse and foote, and well armed, and demanding me seriously of the trueth, I brought them with all possible celerity to the very place: where forthwith the Horse-men broke upon them, wounding divers, before they were all taken, for some fled to the Rocks, and some were in the coverd fields hunting their prey: At last they were all seazed upon, and fast tyed two, and two in iron chaines, and sixe Sicilians relieved whom they had stolne and thralld: Whence they were carried to Syracuse, I went also along with them, where, by the way the people blessed me, and thanked God for mine escape, and me for discovering them: from Syracuse (being condemned to the galleyes) upon the third day they were sent to Palermo, being 36. in number.

They gone, and I reposing here, the governour of that place, for this piece of service, and my travels sake did feast me three dayes, and at my departure would have rewarded me with gold, so also the friends of them that were relieved, which if I tooke or not judge you, that best can judge on discretion. From this place, over-tracing other fifty miles to Catagna, situate at Ætnaes foote; I measured the third fifty miles to Messina.

From Messina, I embarked in a Neapolitan Boat loaden with Passingers; whence, upon the twelfth day, we landed at Naples. Where being disbarked, I gave God thanks upon my flexed knees, for my safe arrivall in Christendome, and imbraced the way to Rome, and on the morrow earely departing thence, and crossing Tyber, I visited these Townes in Italy before I courted the Alpes, Siena, Florence, Luca, Pisa, Genoa, Bullogna, Parma,

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Pavia, Piacenza, Mantua, Milane, and Torine. Having passed Torine, I had two dayes journey in climbing and thwarting the Rockey and intricate hils of Liguria. Leaving these Mountaynes behind me, I arrived at Nice in Provence, situate on the Mediterren Sea; and passing the Townes of Antibes and Cannes, to night at Frejus; there were three French murderers set uppon me in a theevish Wood twelve miles long; one of which had dogged me hither from Nice: Where having extreamely given me a fearefull chase, for a long League, and not mending themselves, they gave me over. Well, in the midst of the Wood I found an Hostery, and in it, two Women, and three young Children, with whom I stayed and lodged all night.

After I had sup'd and going to bed, in came these afore-sayd Villaines, accompanied with my Host; where, when seene, they straight accused me for my flight, and threatening me with stroakes, consulted my Death. Then I cryed to my Host for helpe, but hee stood dumbe, for he was their Companion, and to second their intention his wife made fast the lower doore. Whereat being mooved with deadly feare, I pulled my Turkish gowne from my backe, and opening my Sacket; sayd, Now Christian Gentlemen, I know you are distressed, and so am I, come search my cloathes and Budget, and if you find what you looke for, let me dye: Alas, I am a poore stranger, newly come from Jerusalem, and the Sepulcher of Jesus Christ, and after long travailes, and loe there is my Patent: And concerning my flight, I sweare, I onely fled for the safety of my life, but not for the preservation of my money, for come see I have none: my griefe is that I have it not for you: Good gentlemen consider the dangers that I have

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past amongst Infidels, and let not your Christian hands rob me of my turmoyled life; having nought, wherefore you should, were a lamentable thing to do.

This spoken, and much more, they never searched me, nor touched my Wallet, but went to Counsell, where they concluded uppon my forwardnesse in opening my body and other things to them, that I had no money, and therefore confirmed my life, which for the former respect, and the Holy Graves sake was granted. Whereupon packing up my Relickes agayne, they called for Wine, and drunke diverse times to me; and after a long spent conference, there supper making ready, they dismissed me for my bed: Whether, when led by my Hostesse, I privily made the doore fast, suspecting still a suddaine death: Well they sup'd, and were joviall, and at the first Cocke, went foorth to the woode, and the high way for their owne ends.

All which time I stood Centinell, and the morning come, my Host confessed, that onely he had saved my life; forswearing himselfe of their former sight; but sayd hee certainly they are Murderers. Leaving him with dissembling thankes, I arrived at Fréjus: where I learned that my Host was suspected to bee a Consort with these and many moe Murderers: well afterwards I heard, hee was arraigned, hanged, and quartered, the house razed, and his wife put to death; and ever since the French King, keepeth a guard of Horse-men there to keepe that filthy and dangerous woode free from Murderers. For now may I say, like to a ship that after a long Voyage, is eyther in greatest danger, or else cast away, entring the Roade and Haven from whence shee came; even so was I cast in the most eminent perill, that I had in all my Travayles, being on the Frontiers of France, and as it were, (in regard

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of remoter places) entering the Towne wherein I was borne.

Having given humble thankes, and lofty prayses to the Almighty for my deliverance, I traversed Provence, and Languedoc, where neare to Montpellier, I met with the French gentlemans Father, whom I relieved from the Gallies in Canea of Crete; who being over-joyed with my sight, kindly intreated me for eight dayes, and highly rewarded mee with Spanish Pistols, lamenting for my sake that his sonne was at Paris. I visited Gascony and the Cities of Bordeaux and Rochelle: and arriving at Paris, whence I first beganne my Voyage; I also there ended my first, my painefull, and Pedestriall Pilgrimage. Whence shortly thereafter visiting Englands Court, I humbly presented to King James, and Qucene Anne of ever blessed memories; and to his present Majesty King Charles, certayne rare Gifts and Relickes, brought from Jordan and Jerusalem.

THE SECOND JOURNEY

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Across Europe



DIVERS dedicate themselves to the knowledge of sciences, not knowing that they forget the most necessary, to wit, the science of the world.

This is it above all things that preferreth men to honors, and the charges that make great houses and Reipublicks to flourish; and render the actions and words of them who possesse it, agreeable both to great and small. This science is onely acquisted by conversation: by divers discourses, and in the judicious consideration of the fashion of the living one with another. And above all, and principally by Travellers, and Voyagers in divers Regions, and remote places, whose experience confirmeth the true Science thereof; and can best draw the anatomy of humane condition. Wherein touching my particular, whether discontent or curiosity drove me to this second perambulation, it is best reserved to my owne knowledge: As for the opinion of others, I little care either for their sweetest temper, or their sowrest censure; for they that hunt after other mens fancies, goe rather to the market to sell than to buy, and love better to paint the bare fashion and out-sides of themselves, then to rectify or repaire their owne defects and errours; wherewith I leave them. And so to make short this preample, I come to the matter it selfe.

Now as I began my first voyage from Paris, so from London must I beginne this my second peregrination: whence leaving the Court, the Countrey and Dover, I courted Calais, and so to Gravelines, Dunkirk, and fatall

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Ostend. I measured all the Netherlands with my feete in two moneths space; the description whereof is so amply set downe by moderne Authors, that it requireth no more: onely this, for policies, industries, strong Townes, and fortifications, it is the mirrour of vertue, and the garden of Mars; yea, and the light of all Europe, that he who hath exactly trade it, may say he hath seene the mappe of the whole Universe.

And now ascending to Cleve, I came just to Grave Maurice Campe at Rees, as Spineola had taken Wesel; betweene which Armies for five weekes I had free intercourse, being kindly respected by both the Generalls: for Spineola set me at his owne table, and I lay in his second Tent nine nights; So with the Prince of Orange, with whom I discoursed divers times, was the Marques of Brandeburg, certaine Nobles, and forraine Ambassadors. All which time, O how it grieved me to see the tyranny of the Spaniards dayly executed upon the distressed Protestants of Wesel, over whom they domineered like Divells.

Bidding adew to these Armies, and accompanied with a young Gentleman David Bruce, the L. of Clackmannan his Sonne, whom I conducted to Italy: scarcely had we out-stripd Rheinberg a Dutch mile, till we were both robbed of our cloaks and pocket-moneys, with five souldiers French and Vallones; and that within a Village, women and children beholding us, but no man to relieve us, they being with Carts serving Spineolaes Campe.

Whence the next day approaching Cologne, and bills of change answered, wee visited the falsly supposed Tombes of the three Kings that came to Bethlehem, who as the Romanists say, lye interred there. O filthy and base absurdnesse for their holy Mother Church to confirme

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hellish and erronious leyes; for these Kings came from the East, and from Chaldea, and not from the North: Or if they wil have them to die there and so buried, surely this is even such another damnable errour, surpassing tradition, as their wandring Jew, the Shoomaker of Jerusalem is, of whom in Rome, they have wrot ten thousand fables and fopperies: from this we visited the 11000. Virgins heads, Martyres, indeed we saw the Church-walles all indented about with bare sculles, but whose heads they were, the Lord knoweth.

From thence a Gentleman brought us to a Chappell, within a Vineyard, called the Chappell of miracles; the originall whereof was thus. Upon a festivall day, being Vintage time, there came a Peasant to the Towne, and passing by the Vines (as there is a number within the wals) did eate his belly full of the grapes; and thereafter hearing a Masse, was confessed, and received the Sacrament: And returning the same way he came, and just where he had eaten the Grapes, hee fell a vomiting, and casting up with what hee had eaten the Holy Sacrament, it straight turned in the likenesse of a new borne Babe, being bright and glorious. Well, the amazed fellow, run backe and told his Confessour, what was done, and his offence who had eaten grapes before the Reception of the Eucharist. The Confessour told the Bishop, where he, and other Prelates comming to the place, and beholding as it were an Angell, grew astonished.

In end they wrapped up their little dead god, in a Cambricke vayle, and there buried it; building this Chappel above the place: where ever since there is a world of leying miracles done: Loe these are the novelties of Cologne.

LITHGOW'S RARE ADVENTURES

Thence ascending the Rhine, and coasting Heidelberg, I saluted the Princesse Palatine, with certayne rare Relickes of the Holy Land. And leaving Mounsieur Bruce there till my returne, I went for Narenberg to discover the sixe Germanes death, whom I had buried in the Desarts, and Grand-Cairo of Ægypt, for the two Barons were subject to the Marquesse of Ansbach: Where having met with some of their Brethren, Sisters, and Kinsmen, and delated to them their deathes, I was presently carryed to their Prince the Marquesse, to whom I related the whole Circumstances. Whereupon a brother of the one Baron, and a sister of the other, were instantly invested in their Lands; and I likewise, by them all great regarded and rewarded. And after ten dayes feasting, reviewing Heidelberg, mine associate and I set forward for Helvetia, or Switzerland.

Here in the Canton of Berne, wee went and saw a young Woman, who then had neyther eate, nor drunke, nor yet excremented for thirteene yeares, being truely qualified by her Parents, Friends, Physitians, and other Visitors. She was alwayes Bed-fast, and so extenuated, that her Anatomised body carryed nought but Sinew, skin, and bones, yet was she alwayes mindefull of God. And the yeare after this time, her body returned agayne to the naturall vigour, in appetite and all things: and married a husband, bearing two children, dyed in the fifth yeare thereafter.

The day following, we entred Geneva, where sighting the Towne, the chiefe Burgo-masters, the seven Ministers, and the foure Captaines were all familiarly acquainted with me, with whom in diverse places, I daily feasted and discoursed. The Ministers one night propining me with a Bible, newly Translated in the Italian tongue, by one of

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them selves borne in Milan, told me there was a Masse-Priest sixe Leagues off, a Curate, who had gotten in his owne Parish, three Widdowes, and their three severall Daughters with childe, and all about one time: and for this his Luxurious Cullions was brought to Dijon to be Executed: Desiring me to go see the manner, the next day (leaving Master Bruce with them) I went hither, and upon the sequell day, I saw him hanged upon a new Gallowes, as high as a stripad: The three mothers and their three Daughters were set before him, being Gravidato, whose sorrowfull hearts, and eye-gushing teares for their sinne and shame, were lamentable to behold: the incestuous Bugerono, begging still mercy and pardon for dividing their legges, and opening their wretched Wombes. Lo there is the chastity of the Romish Priests, who forsooth may not marry, and yet may mis carry themselves in all abominations, especially in Sodomy, which is their continuall pleasure and practise.

Returning to Geneva, and acquainting the Magistrates with his Confession, for they are great Intelligencers, I wrot this literal Distich:

Glance, Glorious Geneve, Gospell-Guiding Gem;
Great God Governe Good Geneves Ghostly Game.

And committing that Light shining Sion, and her Religious Israelites, to the tuition of the Almighty, I step over the Alpes to Turin.

Leaving Piedmont, and coasting the sassinous shoare of Genoa revieroe, I ported Leghorn, the great Dukes Seahaven; where I left Mr. Bruce with a Galley Captaine a voluntary Souldier; and inclining alone to Florence by the way at Pistoja, I found a comfortable crosse; for I sighting

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the market place after supper, and carrying a French Ponyard in my pocket, the head of it was espied by a Badgello, Capitaine of the Sergeants, who straight gripped me, bore me to prison, and clapt me in a Dungeon robbing me of all my moneyes and Poneyard; and posting that night to Florence on the morrow shew the Justice there a Stiletto of his owne: upon which I was condemned to row in the Gallies for a yeare, else to pay a hundred Duckats: He stayed there three dayes, in this time was I discovered to the governour of Pistoja, a noble Gentleman, and being brought before him, and acquainting him with the undeserved cruelty of the Badgello: nor that I never wore a Stiletto, but under pretext of that had robbed mee of threescore and twelve pieces of gold: Whereupon the Governour perceiving the knavery of the Villaine, and that he had not acquainted him with my apprehending, to whose place it belonged, he grew immatulent and forthwith sent post to his Highnesse, shewing him the trueth of the businesse: Whereupon the Badgello was sent backe to the Governour with whom I was domestickly reserved; and being accused before my face of his roguery, could not deny it: well, my gold and my Poneyard is restored againe, the Badgello banished the territorie of Pistoja for ever, with his Wife and Children, and I received in compensation of my abuses, from his Highnesse Chamber or Treasury there, fifty Florentine Crownes of gold, being modified by the Duke him selfe; whereat I extolled the knave, that wrought his own wracke in seeking my overthrow, and brought me such a noble reward.

Thanking God for this joyfull crosse and approaching Florence, I found one John Browne there, whose company I imbraced to Sicily: Whence having privatly past

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Rome, and publickly Naples, we footed along the marine by Salerno, and courting Cosenza, the capitall seate of Calabria where a Vicegerent remaineth, we reposed there certaine dayes.

The Towne is of no quantity nor quality, in regard of the obscurenesse and solitarinesse of the Countrey, the better sort of their Gentry living at Naples.

Having left the lower, and entred the higher Calabria, traversing close and covert mountaines, twelve miles along, in the midst of our passage we were beset with foure Bandits and foure Gunnes: To whom holding up my hand, and imploring for our lives, shewing them mine adventures and former travells, they unbend their firelocks, and reading my patent of Jerusalem, uncovered their heads, and did me homage, notwithstanding they were absolute murderers: Our lives and liberty is granted, and for a greater assurance, they tooke us both in to a great thicket of wood, where their timberd Cabine stood, and there made merry with us in good Wine and the best cheare their sequestrate cottage could afford.

And now because there were forty more Bandits their companions among these mountaines, one of themselves for our safeguard, came along with us, and as neare Castelluccio as he durst; making me sweare that I should not shew the Baron of that place of their privat residence, neither that I met with them at all; which I freely did, and so gave him many hearty and deserved thanks.

These Bandits or men-slayers, will come into any free Towne in the night when they please, and recovering either a Church or Hospitall, they stay there as they list, conducing with their friends, their wives, and their affaires; being as safe in these places as though they had not com-

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mitted any criminall fact, neither may the power of Justice reach to them, so long as they keepe themselves within doores.

This is an auncient liberty which Calabria hath ever retained, and so is through the most part of all the Spanish Dominions: Having arrived at Castelluccio, the Baron thereof made much of me, and wondred that I had safely past the mountaines, for said he when I go for Naples, I am forced to go by sea, notwithstanding I have forty in traine.

I remember in passing this higher Countrey, I found divers small Villages of certaine Greekes called Albanians, whose predecessors had fled from Albania, when the Turke seased upon their Province; declining thence to the marine, being by land which we footed distant from Naples 400. miles; we crossed the narrow Faro, or Sicilian Euripus, to Messina, being two miles broad. Where, when landed, and meeting with a young Scots Edenburgensen William Wylie, come from Palermo, and bound for Venice, I fastned John Browne with him to accompany his returne; and on the following day imbarked them both backe for Calabria.

And now having followed the Italian saying, It is better for a man to be alone, then in ill company; I traversed the Kingdome to Trapani seeking transportation for Africa, but could get none: And returning thence overthwart the Iland, I call to memory being lodged in the Bourge of Saramutza, belonging to a young Baron, and being bound the way of Castellfranco eight miles distant and appertaining to another young Noble youth, I rose and marched by the breach of day; where it was my lucke halfe way from either Towne, to finde both these beard-

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lesse Barons, lying dead, and new killed in the fields, and their horses standing tyed to a bush beside them; whereat being greatly moved, I approached them, and perceiving the bodies to be richly cled with silken Stuffs facily conjectured what they might be: My host having told me the former night, that these two Barones were at great discord, about the love of a young Noble woman; and so it was, for they had fought the combat for her sake, and for their owne pride lay slaine here.

Upon which sight, to speake the trueth, I searched both their pockets, and found their two silken purses full loaden with Spanish Pistolls, whereat my heart sprung for joy, and taking five rings off their foure hands, I hid them and the two purses in the ground, halfe a mile beyond this place: And returning againe, leapt to one of their horses, and came galloping backe to Saramutza; where calling up my host, I told him the accident; who when he saw the horse gave a shout for sorrow, and running to the Castle told the Lady the Barons Mother: where in a moment, shee, her children, and the whole Towne runne all with me to the place, some cled, some naked, some on foote, and some on horse: where, when come grievous was it to behold their woefull and sad lamentations. I thus seeing them all madde and distracted of their wits with sorrow, left them without good-night: And comming to my Treasure, made speedy way to Castellfranco, where bearing them the like newes, brought them all to the like distraction and flight of feet.

Well, in the mutability of time there is aye some fortune falleth by accident, whether lawfull or not, I will not question, it was now mine that was last theirs, and to save the thing that was not lost, I travailed that day thirty miles

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further to Terra nova. Whence the next morning beeing earely imbarked for Malta, and there safely Landed; I met with a ship of London called the Mathew, bound for Constantinople lying in the Roade where indeede with the Company I made merry a shoare for three dayes, and especially with one George Clarke their Burser, who striving to plant in my braines a Maltezan Vineyard, had almost perished his owne life.

Upon the fourth day, they hoysing sayle, and I staying a shoare, it was my good lucke within eight dayes to find a French ship of Toulon come from the Levant, and bound for Tunis by the way in going home. With whom desirously consorted, within three dayes we touched at our intended Port. And now to reckon the gold that I found in the aforesayd purses, it amounted to three hundred and odde double Pistols; and their Rings being set with Dyamonds, were valued to a hundred Chickens of Malta, eight shillings the peece.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Barbary States



TUNIS is the Capitall seate of its owne Territory, and of all the East and lower Barbary. This Towne is situate in the bottome of a Creeke, where the Sea for a mile having cut the bosome of the Land, maketh a large and safe resting place for ships and galleyes. Which Haven and Towne is secured from Sea invasions, by the great and strong Fortresse of Goletta, builded on a high Promontore, that imbraceth the Sea, and commandeth the mouth of the Bay; wherein a Turkish Bassaw, and a strong Garrison of Souldiers remaine: the Fort it selfe being well provided with armes, men, Artillery and munition.

The Territory of Tunis, lyeth betweene the borders of Constantine Westward, and the limits of Tripoli Eastward, being of length foure score miles: and on this Seacoast lyeth the Towne Bizerta, adorned with a commodious Haven, and sixe Gallies, the most scelerate of condition, and celerious in flying or following of all the cursares in Turkey: Tripoli in Barbary, (commonly called so) was once beautified with Merchants of Genoa, Ragusa, and Venice, but now become a den of theeves, and Sea-Pirats, and so are all the marine Townes, twixt Ægypt and Morocco. All these Maritime Provinces, have but narrow Inlands, not advancing South-ward from the Sea coast above forty miles.

Here in Tunis I met with our English Captayne, generall Waird, once a great Pyrat, and Commaunder at Sea; who in despite of his denied acceptance in England, had turned Turke, and built there a faire Palace, beautified with rich Marble and Alabaster stones: With whom I

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found Domesticke, some fifteene circumcised English Runagates, whose lives and Countenances were both alike, even as desperate as disdainfull. Yet old Waird their maister was placable, and joyned me safely with a passing Land conduct to Algiers; yea, and diverse times in my ten dayes staying there, I dynd and supped with him, but lay aboard in the French shippe.

At last having obtaind my pasport from the Bassaw there, and surety taken from my life and moneyes, I imbraced the Land way with this Conduct, consisting of forty Moores, and a hundred Camels loaden with Silkes, Dimmeteis, and other Commodities, traversing the Regions of Constantine and Bougie. In all which way (lying nightly in a Tent) I found a pleasant and fruitfull Country, abounding in Wines, Rye, Barly, Wheate, and all kinde of fruites, with innumerable villages, and so infinitely peopled, that it made me wish there had beene none at all; otherwise that they had beene Christians, and so more civill. The greatest enemy this journey designed mee, was the Sunne, whose exceeding heate was intollerable to indure, being in September Anno 1615. But for provision of Water, Wine, and Victuals wee had abundance. Upon the seaventh day of our course, wee entred in the Countrey of Tlemsen.

This copious Kingdome in all things, hath beene oft and ever molested with the Numidian Sarazens, or bastard Arabs, who falling downe from the Mountaines, do runne their carriere at random upon the ground-toyled Moores, to satisfie their needy and greedy desires. Tlemsen had of old foure Provinces, but now onely two: Whose capitall Towne being too cognominated Tlemsen, containd once eighteene thousand fire houses. But in regard of Josephus,

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King of Fez, who besieged it seaven yeares, overmastering it and then subdued by Charles the fifth, and likewise the Turkes investion of it, and finally because of the long warres, twixt the Seriff or King there, and the Turke; it is become a great deale lesser and almost disinhabited, and the most part of that Countrey subject to the authority of the Bassaw of Algiers.

At last upon the twelfth day of our leaving Tunis, having arrived at Algiers and abandoning my Conduct with a good respect, I stayed in a Spaniards house, turned Runagate, who kept a roguish Taverne, and a ground planked Hospitality. In all this way of twelve score miles, I payed no Tribute, neyther had I any eminent perrill, the Country being peaceable, though the people uncivill.

This Towne of Algiers is situate upon the pendicles of a flat devalling height, and standeth triangular. The Marine side whereof is strongly fortified, with earth-back'd walles, Bulwarkes, and Artillery, but the semi-squared land-walles, are of small importance, and easily to be surprised; and three miles in circuite, contayning some thirty thousand persons.

There is a Turkish Bashaw here, and a strong Garrison of sixe thousand Janizaries, with two hundred Cursary ships or Pyrats who ever preying upon Christian Commerciers, by their continuall spoyles and prises, have made the divelish Towne wonderfull rich. It hath a long reaching mould in the Sea, that maketh a safe harbor for their ships agaynst Northerly windes, which on that Coast are deadly dangerous. At this time, the greatest part of the Towne were fled to the mountaynes to shun the parching heate that beateth violently on the Plaines, and

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Sea-shore; so doe all the maritime Townes of Barbary the like every Sommer, for the moneths July, August, and September: which then being left halfe naked of defence, it were the onely time for Christianes to invade or surprise their Townes.

I found here abundance of slaves, most of them Spaniards, whom they dayly constraine within Towne to beare all manner of burdens here and there, and without Towne to drudge in the fields, amongst their Vines and Cornes, and other toyling labours, abusing them still with buffets and bastinadoes as their perversstnesse listeth: Neither durst I leave my lodging, unlesse I had three or foure Christian slaves to guide me, and guard me too from scelerate vulgars: who beare no respect to any stranger nor free Franck.

Here I remarked a wonderful policy in the Turkish state, concerning these thiftuous and rapinous Townes of Barbary; who as they are ordained ever to plague and prey upon the Spaniard, yet under that colour they licentiat them to make havock and seaze upon all other Christiane ships, goods, and persons as they please, the French Nation excepted: And so they doe notwithstanding of our several Ambassadors lying at Constantinople, who rather stay there as Mungrells than absolute Ambassadors. To which avowed dangers if any small ship, ruled by rash fellowes, should adventure within the straites, as too many English doe, beeing unable and unprovided for defence; and so are taken & Captivated, and afterward redeemed by Contributions over the Land: I justly affirme it, they deserve rather to be punished, and remayne there in punishment, then any reliefe or redemption to be wrought for them, who will nakedly hazard themselves in knowne

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perrils, without Ordonance, munition, and a burdenable ship.

Now as concerning their Customes, it is the fashion of all these Barbarian Moores, in marrying of their wives, that after the Bridegroom and the Bride are inrolled by their Totsecks or Priests in the Mosque before the Parents of each party, and the Bride presently brought home to the house of her Husband, accompanied with al their Friends, Musicke, and Revelling: He immediately withdraweth her to a private Chamber, having onely one old woman standing by them in a corner of the Roome: where hee lying with the Bride, and shee being found a Mayde, by a certayne cloath layd under her privy place, which being by the old Hagge drawne out, and found sprinkled with spots of blood shee presenteth it first to him, as a token of virginity; and then forthwith runneth through the house, among all the friends of the new married couple, crying with a loud voyce, and carrying the bloody napkin in her hand, the Virgine-bride is broken up; whereat they all rejoyce, giving rewards and good cheare to the Cryer: But if the bride be not found a Mayd, then he returneth her backe unto her Parents which they accompt as an immortall shame, and the nuptiall feast, and all the asistants thereunto, are suddenly dismissed: But if a Virgine, the banquet continueth all the first day, with great cheare, dancings, revellings, with Musicall Instruments of divers sorts.

The second night is onely the feast of women for both parties; and the third banquet is made on the seventh day after the nuptiall, the provision of which the father of the Bride sendeth to the house of his new sonne in law: where after this banquet, and the seventh day, in the next morn-

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ing the Bridegroome goeth then abroad from his house (which hee doth not till the aforesayd time) unto the market place, where he buyeth a number of fish to carry with him to his dwelling, as a signe of good lucke, it being an auncient custome through the most part of all the Northerne Africa. The men and women at such meetings dance a part, each of them having their own Musicke and orders of merriment.

They have also a custome when that Infants beginne to breed teeth, their Parents will make a solemne feast to all the Children of the Towne, with divers ceremonies; which custome they reserve yet, in divers parts of Italy.

The women through all Barbary, weare abundance of Bracelets on their armes, and Rings in their eares, but not through the nose and lips as the Ægyptians doe; and turne also the nayles of their hands and feete to red, accounting it a base thing to see a white naile: The men here for the most part, are the best Archers, and Horsemen that are in Affrick, and take great pleasure in breeding of their Barbes: So are they both active and couragious, and very desperate in all their attempts, being all of the Mahometanicall Religion, though more ignorant thereof than the Turkes: some whereof are subject to the Turke, some to the Emperour of Morocco, and some to their owne barbarous Princes.

And now it was my fortune here in Algiers, after 12. dayes abode, to meete with a French Lapidator, Monsieur Chatteline borne in Provence, who intending to visit Fez, joyned company with me, and we with certaine Merchants of Algiers that were going hither: being in all 30. passengers, with two Jannizaries and a Dragoman.

Whence advancing our way, some on Mules, and some

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on foote, with Asses carrying our baggage and provision; we left the marine towns of Sali and Tetuan far to the west on our right hand, and facing the in-land wee marched for three dayes through a fruitfull and populous soyle: And although the peoples barbarous and disdainfull countenances were awfull, yet we two went still free of tributs, as not being a thing with them accustomed, to execute exaction on Francks as the Turkes and Moores do in Asia, neither understood they what wee were, being cled with company, and after their fashion: save onely that nature had set a fairer stamp on my face, than theirs, which oft I wished had beene as blacke as their uglines. In this misculat journeying of paine & pleasure we found every where strong Wines, abundance of excellent bread, and the best, and greatest Hens bred on the earth, with plenty of Figges, Fruits, Olives, and delicious oyle, yea, and innumerable Villages, the houses whereof are all builded with mudde, and platformed on their tops; and so are they in Asia, and all Africa over.

Upon the fourth day having past the Plaines, we entered in a hilly Countrey, yet pastorable; where I beheld here and there clouds of Tents, filled with maritime people, that were fled hither from the Sea coast for the fresh and cooling ayre.

And upon these pleasant and umbragious heights, I saw the fields overcled with flocks of Sheepe and Goats: which Sheepe are wondrous great, having from their rumpes and hips, broad and thicke tayles growing, and hanging to the ground, some whereof when sold, will weigh 16. 18. or 20. pounds weight, and upwards. Here among the mountaines, our company knowing well the Countrey, tooke a great advantage of the way, and on the seventh

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day in the morning, wee arrived at the great Towne of Fez: where the French man and I were conducted by some of our company to a great Moorish Inne or Taverne: & there received, we were as kindly & respectively used, as ever I was in any part of the Turkes Dominions, being now out of them, & in the Empire of Morocco.

This City of Fez is situate upon two hills; the intervale, or low valley betweene both (through which the torride River runneth Southward) being the Center and chiefest place, is the most beautifull and populous part of the City. Over which River, and in this bottome, there are three score and seaven Bridges of stone and Timber, each of them being a passage for open streetes on both sides. The intervayle consisteth of two miles in length, and halfe a mile broad; wherein, besides five Chereaffs or Market places, there are great Palaces, magnificke Mosquees, Colledges, Hospitals, and a hundred Palatiat Tavernes, the worst whereof, may lodge a Monarchicke trayne: Most part of all which buildings, are three and foure stories high, adorned with large and open Windowes, long Galleries, spacious Chambers, and flat tectures or square platformes. The streets being covered above, twixt these plaineset Fabrickes, have large Lights cut through the tectur'd tops every where; in whose lower shoppes or Roomes are infinite Merchandize, and Ware of all sorts to bee sold.

The people of both kindes are cloathed in long breeches and bare Ancles, with red or yellow shooes shod with Iron on the Heeles, and on the Toes with white Horne; and weare on their bodies long Robes of Linning or Dimmety, and silken Wast-coates of diverse Colours: The behaviour of the Vulgars being far more civill toward

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Strangers then at Constantinople; or else where in all Turkey. The women here go unmasked abroad, wearing on their heads, broad, and round Capes, made of Straw or small Reedes, to shade their faces from the Sunne; and damnable Libidinous, beeing prepared both wayes to satisfie the lust of their Luxurious Villaines; neyther are they so strictly kept as the Turkish Women, marching where they please.

There are some twelve thousand allowed Brothell-houses in this Towne, the Courtezans being neatly kept, and weekly well looked to by Physitians; but worst of all, in the Summer time, they openly Lycentiat three thousand common Stewes of Sodomiticall boyes: Nay I have seene at mid-day, in the very Market places, the Moores bugging these filthy Carrions, and without shame or punishment go freely away.

There are severall Seates of Justice heere (though none to vindicate beastlinesse) occupied by Cadeis and Sanzackes, which twice a Weeke heare all differences and complaints: their chiefe Seriff, or Vicegerent, being sent from Morocco, is returned hither agayne every third yeare.

The two Hills on both sides the planur'd Citty, East, and West, are over-cled with streetes and Houses of two stories high, beeing beautified also with delicate Gardens, and on their extreame devalling parts, with numbers of Mosques and Watch-towers: On which heights, and round about the Towne, there stand some three hundred Wind-mils; most part whereof pertayne to the Mosques, and the two magnifick Colledges erected for education of Children, in the Mahometanickall Law, One of which Accademies, cost the King Habahennor in building of it,

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four hundred and three score thousand Duckets. Jacob sonne to Abdulach the first King of the Families of Meennons, divided Fez in three parts, and with three severall Walles, though now invironed with onely one, and that broken downe in sundry parts.

The chiefest Mosque in it is beautified with seventene high ground Steeples, besides Turrets and Towers: having thirty foure entring Doores; beeing supported within, and by the length, with forty eight pillars, and some twenty three Ranges of pillars in breadth, besides many Iles, Quires, and circulary Rotundoes: Every Pillar having a Lampe of Oyle burning thereat; where there, and through the whole Mosque, there are every night nine hundred Lamps lighted; and to maintaine them, and a hundred Totsecks and preaching Talsumans, the rent of it extendeth to two hundred Duccats a day: Neverthelesse there are in the City besides it, more than foure hundred and threescore Mosques; fifty whereof are well benefited and superbiously decored within and without, with glorious and extraordinary workmanship, whose rooffes within are all Mosaick worke, and curiously indented with Gold, and the walles and pillars being of grey Marble, interlarded with white Alabaster, and so is the chiefe Mosque too in which Monsieur Chatteline and I had three sundry recourses accompanied with our Moorish hoste, who from their Priests had procured that licence for us.

This City aboundeth in all manner of provision fit for man or beast, & is the goodliest place of all North Africa, contayning a hundred and twenty thousand fire-houses, and in them a million of soules: Truely this is a world for a City, and may rather second Grand Cairo, than subjoyne it selfe to Constantinople, being farre superior in great-

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nesse with Aleppo: For these are the foure greatest Cities, that ever I saw in the world, either at home or abroad.

The Cittizens here are very modest and zealous at their divine services, but great dauncers and revellers on their solemne festivall dayes, wherein they have Bull-bating, Maskerats, singing of rimes, and processions of Priests. The Moores in times past of Fez and Morocco, had divers excellent personages, well learned, and very civill, being most excellent men in their superstition. They were great devisers too of gallant sportings, exercises, turnaments, and Bull-bating, which Spayne retaineth to this time; yea, and the Romanes did learne, and follow many of them.

Here in Fez there be a great number of Poets, that make Songs on divers subjects, especially of Love, and Lovers, whom they openly name in their rimes, without rebuke or shame: All which Poets once every yeare, agane Mahomet's birth-day, make rimes to his praise; meanwhile in the after noone of that festivall day, the whole Poets assembling in the market place, there is a Dasked chayre prepared for them, whereon they mount one after another to recite their verses in audience of all the people; and who by them is judged to be best, is esteemed all that yeare above the rest, having this Epithite the Prince of Poets, and is by the Vicegerent and Towne rewarded; But in the time of the Maennon Kings, the Prince on that day in his owne Pallace did conveyne the whole Cittizens, in whose presence he made a solemne feast to all the best Poets; causing every one of them to recite the praise of Mahomet before his face, standing on a high scaffold: And to him that was thought to excell the rest, the King

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gave him 100. Sultans of gold, an horse, a woman slave, & the long Robe that was about him for the time: And to each one of the rest he caused give fifty Sultans, so that every one should have some recompense for their paines.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Sahara



HAVING spent in Fez 17. dayes, in all which time we daily conversed with some Christian Abyssinians, or Æthiopian Nigroes, some whereof were Merchands, and some religious; and Monsieur Chattelines businesse not effected, seeking Diamonds and precious stones to buy; was seriously advised by them, to goe for Arracon,¹ a great Towne on the Frontiers of the Northerne Æthiopia: where he would finde abundance of such at an easie rate, giving him a perfit direction for his passage hither being 30. daies journey: he concluded with their counsell his resolution, and perswading me to the same intention, I yeeld, being over-mastred with the greedy desire of more sights.

Meanwhile for our conduct, we hire a Dragoman Moore that spoke Italiens to be our Interpreter, and with him a Tent, and two Moorish drudges to guide, guard, & serve us by the way of fifty eight Sultans for gold, eightene pounds foure shillings English: having sixe of their Kinsmen fast bound to a Sanzack or Justice, for our lives, liberties, and moneyes. Hereupon having provided our selves, with all necessary things, and a Mule to carry our Victuals, Water and Baggage, we discharged our conscion-

¹ Perhaps El Hariga, on the (now dry) river bed that divides Morocco and the Spanish territory of Rio de Oro, 500 miles south of Fez. At the present day the great market town of the western Sahara is Chengueti, in an oasis 600 miles further south. Increasing desiccation may have caused the abandonment of the city of which Lithgow speaks; but as Rio de Oro remains unexplored by Europeans, it is possible that the reports of its aridity have been exaggerated. The perpetual hostilities of its nomads would in any case make settled life very precarious.

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able Hostage, at twenty Aspers a day the man, being thirty foure shillings to each of us; and were brought on our way, by the aforesayd Christians some foure Leagues. Where having left them with dutifull thankes, wee set forward in our journey, and for seaven dayes together wee were not violently molested by any thing, save intollerable heate, finding tented people and scattered Villages all the way.

The eighth day, the way being fastidious and Rockey, Chatteline could not subsist, not beeing used to pedestriall travayle; and for our better speed and his reliefe, wee mounted him aloft on the top of our baggage. At last arriving at Ahansal (where we reposed) being the furthest and South-most Towne of the Kingdome of Fez, composed of a thousand fire-houses, well fortified with Walles, and a Garrison of Moores in it, subject to the Emperour of Morocco: the French-man fell sicke of a burning Feaver: Whereuppon wee stayed five dayes, his health growing worse and worse, and hee mindfull to returne, which I would not: I left him in safe custody, and one of our Drudges to attend him. And bearing the charges of the other two, I set forward for my purpose, which ere long turned to sad Repentance.

Leaving Ahansal behind us, and entring the Countrey of the Agaroës, we found the best inhabitants halfe cled, the Vulgars naked, the Countrey voyd of Villages, Rivers, or Cultivage: but the soyle rich in Bestiall, abounding in Sheep, Goates, Camels, Dromidores, and passing good horses: Having an Emeere of their owne, being subject to none, but to his owne passions, and them to the disposition of his scelerate nature; yet hee, and they had a bastard show of Mahometanicall Religion: Their Bestiall

THE SAHARA

are watered with sources, and the pastorable fields, with the nightly Serene, and themselves with the Watrish concavity of the earth. In our sixe dayes toyle, traversing this Countrey, we had many troubles and snarlings from these Savages, who sometimes over-laboured us with Bastinadoes, and were still inquirous what I was, and whether I went; yea, and enough for the Dragoman to save my life and liberty.

Having past the perversnesse of this calamity, upon the seaventh day, wee rancountred with another soyle, and worser tribe of the Hagans or Yamnites, most part whereof were white Moores, a people more uglye then the Nigroes, yet some of the better sort had their members covered, but of condition farre more wicked then the former.

They are ruled by a Seriff, whose Guard is composed of women, and young Balars, pages; seeming rather to live without Religion, then acknowledging any kinde of Deity. Here my Dragoman, doubting of his passage, and the difficilnesse of the Countrey, which arose from his ignorantnesse thereof, was inforced to hyre a Hagan guide, to bring us to the province bordering with Æthiopia. But by your leave, our guide having led us for five dayes together South-eastward, and almost contrary to our purpose: in the sixt night of our Repose, he stole away, eyther for feare or falshood, mistaking our journey, or deceiving us for despight, the halfe of his Wages being payed him before. Well, the Villaine gone, and my Dragoman the next day continuuing our faces, in the same Arte, wee were long or night involved in a dis-inhabited Country, being Desartuous and dangerous for Wilde beasts, and full of Mountaynes. Pitching our Tent neare

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to a Rocke, we burnt all that night shrubs of Tara, to affright the Beasts of all kinds, and so did we every night of that wofull wandring, which flaming light their nature cannot abide. Day come, and our comfort yet fresh, we sought further in, thinking to finde people and Tents to relieve us with Victuales, and informe us of the Countrey, but we found none, neither seven daies thereafter. The matter growing hard, and our victuals and water done, we were forced to relye upon Tobacco, and to drinke our owne wayning pisse, for the time aforesayd.

The Soyle we daily traced, was covered with hard and soft Sands, and them full of Serpents, being interlarded with Rockey heights, faced with Caves and Dens: the very habitacle of Wilde beasts, whose hollow cryes, as we heard in the night, so we too often sighted their bodies in the day, especially Jackals, Beares, and Boares, and sometimes Cymbers, Tygers, and Leopards, agaynst whom in the day time if they approached us, we eyther shot off a Harquebuse, or else flashed some powder in the Ayre; the smell whereof, no ravenous beast can abide.

This vast Wildernesse is a part of the Berdoans Countrey, one of the foure tribes of the olde Lybians, the Sabuncks, the Carmines, and the Southerne Garolines, being the other three. But to shorten my Discourse, of barren Wildernesses, supposed to be a part of the Lybian Desarts, my Dragoman upon the fourth day of our seaven being there, falling in despaire, and wondring to see me indure such heate, such hunger, and such toyle, did threaten mee with death, to make me seeke backe for our nearest refuge: Whereupon holding our course North-east, my compasse-Dyall being our guide, we rancountred earely on the eight day, with nine hundred Savages, naked

THE SAHARA

Lybian Sabunks: five hundred whereof, were women armed with Bowes and Arrowes; who with their complices, the former night had put to the sword, three hundred Berdoanes, their neighbour tribe: carrying away above sixe thousand Sheepe and Goats besides other bestiall: from whom after our sight of their Emeere or Prince, we had first liberty of life, and then reliefe of food; for he came up in the Reare, with a hundred Horse-men charged with halfe Pikes, headed at both ends with sharpe Steele: The person of their Prince was onely clothed from his breasts downe to his middle thigh with a Crimson vayle of Silke, hanging on his naked shoulders with coloured Ribans, and on his head a party coloured Shash set like a Garland: Both his knees were bare, so were his ancles, the calves of his legges being girded with Crimson Silke, and on his feet yellow shooes; his beard was like his face, burnt with the Sun, and his age like to my owne, of 33. yeares, his Religion is damnable, so is his life, for hee and all the foure tribes of Lybia worship onely for their God, Garlick, having Altars, Priests, and superstitious rites annexed to it: Thinking Garlicke, being strong of it selfe, and the most part of their food, to have a soveraigne vertue in a herball Deity. All his Courtiers were starke naked saving his Page, who was even covered like to the King his Master.

And now having dismissed his Army for the way, and falling in a houres parley with us at his departure, he propyned me with his Bowe, & a Quiver of Arrowes, which afterward, I presented to his Majesty, then Prince. This former savage Prince sent a Guide with us for foure dayes journey, the condition of his mans Wages being made by himselfe, and franckly advised us that Tunis was

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our best and nearest Recourse. Which being forcibly considered, I was constrayned to renew my bargain agayne with the Dragoman, at the rate of forty five Sultans of gold, to bring me safely hither.

This Sabunck Guide, to whom I gave five Sultans, thirty five shillings, brought us through the most Habitable vallies, and best clad passages of the Countrey, with Tents: where every day once we found Water, Bread, Garlicke and Onions, and sometimes Hennes at twenty Aspers the peece, two shillings; which we would Rost, or scorch dry (if trueth may have credite) at the very face of the Sunne, and so eate them. Upon the fift day, our Guide leaving us in the after-noone, well settled among foure hundred Tents of Numidian Moores, or bastard Arabians, pitched in a pleasant Valley, betweene two sources of Water, wee stayed still there Reposing our selves, and Refreshing our bodies with Victuals, some nine dayes.

Heere among these Tents, I saw Smiths Worke out of cold Iron, Horse-shooes, and Nayles, which is onely molified by the vigorous heate and Raies of the Sunne, and the hard hammering of hands upon the Anvile: So have I seene it also in Asia. I could bee more particular here, but Time, Paper, Printing, and charges will not suffer me. And now from hence, renewing our Guides from place to place, and discending from Savage Moores to Civill Moores, we arrived (though with great difficulty and danger) safely at Tunis. And now my Wish, and my arrivall, being both desirous for a while settled in Tunis, I dispatched my Dragoman, and the other Barbarian hireling, with a greater consideration, then my two former conditions allowed me: Yet being urged to it by Captaine Wairds decernitour, I freely performed his Direction. My

THE SAHARA

Conduct gone, and I staying heere, Captayne Waird sent twice one of his servants with me to see two sundry Ovens drawne, beeing full of young Chickens, which are not hatched by their mothers, but in the Fornace, being thus. The Oven is first spred over with warme Camels dung, and upon it the Egges, closing the Oven. Then behind the Oven, there is a daily conveyance of heate, venting through a passage beneath the dung, just answerable to the naturall warmnesse of the Hens belly; upon which moderation, within twenty dayes they come to naturall perfection. The Oven producing at one time, three or foure hundred living Chickens, and where defection is, every sharer beareth a part of the losse; for the Hatcher or Curator, is onely Recompensed according to the living numbers be delivered. Surely this is an usuall thing, almost through all Africa, which maketh that the Hennes with them are so innumerable every where.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Malta and Sicily



AND now it was my good fortune, after five Weekes attendance for Transportation, being about the 14. of February 1616. to meete here with a Holland ship called the Marmaide of Amsterdam, beeing come from Tetuan, and bound for Venice and Malta, touched here by the way.

In this time of their staying, came one Captayne Danser a Fleming, who had beene a great Pyrate and Commaunder at Seas, and the onely inveterate enemy of the Moores; beeing imployed by the French King in Ambassage, to relieve two and twenty French Barkes that were there Captivated, done by the policy of the Bashaw, to draw Danser hither; notwithstanding that hee was then Retired, and married in Marseilles. Well, he is come, and Anchored in the Roade, accompanied with two French Gentlemen: Two of which came a shoare, and saluted the Bashaw in Dansers behalfe: they are made welcome, and the next day the Bashaw went franckly a boord of Danser, seconded with twelve followers: Danser tooke the presence of the Bashaw for a great favour, and mainly feasted him with good cheare, great quaffing, sounding Trumpets, and Roaring shots, and none more familiar than the dissembling Bashaw, and over-joyed Danser, that had relieved the Barkes, for they were all sent to him that morning, not wanting any thing. After deepe cups, the Bassaw invites him to come a shoare, the day following, and to dine with him in the Fortresse: To the which unhappy Danser graunted, and the time come, he landed with twelve Gentlemen, and nearing the Castle, was met with two Turkes to receive him: where having past the

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draw-bridge, & the gate shut behind him, his company was denied entrance: where forthwith Danser being brought before the Bassaw, was strictly accused of many ships, spoyles, and great riches he had taken from the Moores, and the mercilesse murther of their lives, for he never spared any: Whereupon he was straight beheaded, and his body throwne over the walles in a ditch; which done, off went the whole Ordonance of the Fort, to have sunke Dansers two ships; but they cutting their cables, with much adoe escaped, but for the other Gentlemen a shoare, the Bassaw sent them very courteously and safely aboard of the redeemed Barks, whence they hoised Sayles for Marseilles.

Loe there was a Turkish policy more sublime and crafty, than the best European alive could have performed. A little while thereafter, the afore-said Hollander being ready to goe for Sea, I bad goodnight to Generous Waird, and his froward Runagates, where being imbarked, with prosperous windes upon the third day, wee landed at Malta, and there leaving my kind Flemings and their negotiation, I courted the shoare, saluting againe my former hoste.

The fift day of my staying here, I saw a Spanish Souldier and a Maltezen boy burnt in ashes, for the publick profession of Sodomy, and long or night, there were above a hundred Bardassoes, whoorish boyes that fled away to Sicily in a Galleyot, for feare of fire but never one Bugeron stirred, being few or none there free of it. Now bidding farewell to Malta, I landed the next morning in Sicily, being twenty leagues distant.

I remember in my twice being in this Kingdome, (especially the second time, wherein I compassed the

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whole Iland, and thrice traversed the middle parts thereof from Sea to Sea) I never saw any of that selfe Nation, to begge bread, or seeke almes; so great is the beatitude of their plenty. And I dare avow it (experience taught mee) that the porest creature in Sicily eateth as good bread, as the best Prince in Christendome doth. The people are very humane, ingenious, eloquent and pleasant, their language in many words is nearer the Latine, then the Italian: somewhat talkative they are, and effeminate, but generally wonderfull kind to strangers.

In the moneths of July and August, all the Marine Townes every yeare, are strictly and strongly guarded with them of the inland Villages and Bourges, both on foot and horse-backe: who are compelled to lie there at their owne charges, so long as this season lasteth; in which they feare the incursions of the Turkes; but the rest of the yeare, these Seacoast Townes are left to the vigilant custody of the Indwellers.

This Countrey was ever sore oppressed with Rebels and Bandits, untill such time that the military Duke of Sona, came to rule there as Viceroy, Anno 1611. where in the first yeare he brought in five hundred; some whereof were hanged, some pardoned, and some committed to the Gallies: So that within two yeares of his foure yeares government, there was not a Bandit left at randon in all Sicily; the like before was never seene in this Region.

And likewise against a Seminary Gallant, a Parochial Priest, who had killed a Knights servant in a Brothell-house, the brother of a Shoemaker, which fellow, the Viceroy caused to Pistoll the Priest in spight of the Cardinall, and thereupon absolved him for the dead. The

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Cardinall having onely charged him to say Masse for a yeare without satisfaction for the mans life: so the Duke inhibited the Shoemaker to make shooes for a yeare, and neverthesse allowed him two shillings a day to mainetayne him for that time.

Many singular observations have I of his government, the which to recite would prove prolixious, though worthy of note to the intellective man; hee was afterward Viceroy of Naples, and now lately deceased in Spaine.

It is dangerous to travell by the Marine of the Sea-coast Creekes in the West parts, especially in the mornings, least he finde a Moorish Frigot lodged all night, under colour of a Fisher-boat, to give him a slavish breakfast: for so they steale labouring people off the fields, carrying them away captives to Barbary; notwithstanding of the strong Watch towers, which are every one in sight of another round about the whole Iland. Their arrivalls are usually in the night, and if in day time, they are soone discovered; the Towers giving notice to the Villages, the Sea coast is quickly clad with numbers of men on foot and horse-backe: And oftentimes they advantagiously seaze on the Moores lying in obscure clifts and bays. All the Christian Iles in the Mediteeranean Sea, and the Coast of Italy and Spaine, inclining to Barbary, are thus chargeably guarded with watch Towres.

The Sicilians have a Proverb, as having experience of both, that the French are wiser than they seeme, and the Spaniards seeme wiser then they are: And even as the Spaniard is extremely proud in the lowest ebbe of Fortune: So is the French man exceeding impatient, cowardly desperate, and quite discouraged in the pinch of sterne calamity. The Spaniard and the French man have an

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absolute opposition, and conditionall disagreement in all fashions; and in their riding both different, and defective: For the Spaniard rideth like a Monkey mounted on a Camell, with his knees and heeles alike aside, sitting on the sadle, like to a halfe ballast ship, tottering on top-tempestuous waves: And the French man, hangeth in the stirrop, at the full reach of his great toe, with such a long-legged ostentation, pricking his horse with neck-stropiat spurres, and beating the wind with his long waving limbes, even as the Turkes usually do, when they are tossed at their Bairam, hanging betweene two high trees, reciprocally waving in the ayre, from the force of two long bending ropes.

The women ride here stridling in the sadle, and if double, the man sitteth behind the woman: The women also after the death of their friends keepe a ceremonious mourning twice a day, for a moneths space, with such yelping, howling, shouting, and clapping of hands, as if all Sicily were surprised by the Moores: Yet neither shedding teares nor sorrowfull in heart, for they will both hollow and laugh at one time: The same custome for the dead, the Turkes observe, and all the Orientall people of Asia.

I found some 60. Christian Gallies, assembled to the Faire of Messina, which holdeth every yeare the 17. of August: Wherein all sorts of Merchandize are to be sold, especially raw Silke in abundance: 30. of which Gallies went to scoure the coasts of Greece.

Here in Messina I found the (sometimes) great English Gallant Sr. Frances Verny lying sick in a Hospitall, whom sixe weekes before I had met in Palermo: Who after many misfortunes in exhausting his large patrimony,

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abandoning his Countrey, and turning Turke in Tunis; he was taken at Sea by the Sicilian Gallies: In one of which he was two yeares a slave, whence hee was redeemed by an English Jesuite, upon a promise of his Conversion to the Christian faith: When set at liberty, hee turned common Souldier, and here in the extreamest calamity of extreame miseries, contracted Death: Whose dead Corpes I charitably interred in the best manner, time could afford me strength, bewailing sorrowfully the miserable mutability of Fortune, who from so great a Birth, had given him so meane a Buriall; and truly so may I say, Sic transit gloria mundi.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Italy



AFTER sixteene dayes attendance for passage, their fortunately accoasted heere twelve Napolitan Gallies come from Apulia, and bound for Naples: In one of which, by favour of Marquesse Dell Sancta Cruce the Generall, I imbarked.

On the fourth day we touched at Ischia, the greatest Ile belonging to Naples. There is a Fountayne here of that incredible heate, that in short time will boyle any fish or flesh put in it, and the taste agreeable to digestion. Departing from thence, and coasting the mayne shoare, we had a Moorish Frigot in Chase, where seazing on her, we found 16. Moores therein, and sixe Christians, three men, two Women, and a Boy, whom they had taken up, in going betweene two Townes by the Sea side. The Peasants were set at liberty, and the Moores immediately preferred to chaynes of Iron, bloody lashes, tugging of Gally oares, and perpetuall slavery.

Arriving at Naples, I gave joyfull thanks to God for my safe returne to Christendome, and the day following, I went to review the auncient Monuments of Pozzuoli.

Meane-while arrived the French Gallies, fetching home Chevalier du Vandum, the Prior of France from Malta: Who scouring the coast of the lower Barbary, their fortune was to fall upon a misfortunate English ship belonging to Captaine Pennington, which they as a Cursaro or man of Warre confiscated. Their Anchors fallen, I boarded the Queenes Galley, where to my great grieve I found a Countrey-man of speciall acquaintance, George

ITALY

Gib of Borrowston (who was Pylot to the English) fast chained to an oare, with shaven head and face: Who had his owne shippe twice seized on by the Turkes, and Mamora, which ship he lastly recovered at the Ile Sardinia, and sold her at Naples being miserably worme-eaten. To whose undeserved miseries, in my charitable love, I made a Christian oath, that at my arrivall in England, I should procure by the helpe of his friends, his Majesties letters to the Duke of Guise Admirall, for his deliverance. But soone thereafter, being of a great spirit, his heart broke, and so died in Marseilles.

Departing from Pozzuoli, we came to the Sulphatara, where the fine Brimstone is made, which is a pretty incircling Plaine, standing upon a moderate hight; having three vents, through two of which, the smoaking flame ariseth, and the other produceth no fire; but after an excessive raine surgeth sixe foote high with blacke boyling water, which continueth so long as the rayne lasteth.

From thence (our Guide leaving us) we came to Grotto di cane; wherein if a Dogge be cast he will suddenly die, and taken thence, and cast in the Lake, he will forthwith revive: This Grotto or Cave, standeth on the side and root of a sulphure hill: We desirous to make tryall of a Dog; and finding the fellow that purposely stayeth there somewhat extortionable, I adventured in stead of a Dog to make tryall of my selfe; Whereupon I entered to the further end thereof, bringing back a warme stone in each hand from thence: whereat the Italians swore, I was a Divell and not a man: for behold (say they) there was a French Gentleman the former yeare, who in a Bravado, would needes goe in: whereupon hee was presently stifled to death, and here lyeth buried at the mouth of the Grotto

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to serve for a caveat, to all rash and unadvised strangers to doe the like.

The relation indeed was true, but I counting nothing of it, would needes goe in againe, where entred to the bottome being ten paces long, the moysty and choaking heat did so suffocate and benumbe my senses, that with much adoe I returned backe; where receiving the fresh ayre, and a little Wine, I presently forgot my former trance: which when the Dog-keeper saw, he for an easie composition made triall of his Dog; and having tyed a string to his hinder leg, he cast the Dog scarce halfe way in the Cave, where immediately his tongue hanging out, he fell downe dead: And forthwith his Master repulling him backe, cast him in the Lake, pawning in water in his cares, but hee could never recover his life. Whereupon the poore man cried out, alas I am undone, what shall I doe, the Dog that wonne my dayly food is dead; in compassion whereof the worthy Gentleman doubled his wages.

Bidding farewell to my generous friends, I marched in the way of Mount Cassino to Rome; within ten miles of Capua, I found the poorest Bishop (*Nomen sine re*) the world affoordeth: having no more (nor never had he, nor any before him) than twelve pence a day to spend. So is there many a Marquesse, Earle, Baron, and Knight in Italy, who is unable at one time, to keepe a foote-man at his heeles, a Dog at his foote, a Horse between his legs, a good sute of clothes on his backe, and his belly well fed; so glorious be their stiles, and so miserable their renewes.

Touching at Rome, I secretly borrowed one nights lodging there, and at the breach of day another houres sight and conference, with my Cousin Simeon Grahame.

ITALY

And now ere I leave Rome, I thinke it best, to let our Papists here at home, see the shamefull lives & cruell deaths, of most of their Popes beyond Seas. Tell me I pray you, what a May pole Dauncer, was John 12. alias 13. of 18. yeares old, who made the Lateran their great Church in Rome, a playne Stewes or Brothel house.

What a Pope-boy of twelve yeares old, was Benedict the ninth? and after wrought by inchantments. Another Pope they had, whom they called *Unum pecus*: A very Asse, for in the morning hee would grant many great kindnesses, and at night revoake them all agayne. What a thiefe was Pope Boniface the seventh? who robbed St. Peters Church. What a sodomitcall Pope was Sixtus the fourth? who builded Stewes of both kindes, granting his Cardinals the use of Sodomy, for three hote moneths. What an Atheisticall Pope was Leo the tenth? who called the Gospell a Fable. What a Hereticall Pope was Honorius the first? who by sixe general Counsels, was condemned for a Monothelit: What a perjured Pope was Gregory the twelfth? and openly forsworne: What a Negromancer was Silvester the second? who gave himselfe both soule and body to the divell, to attaine the Pope-dome: What was Pope John the eleventh, but a bastardly brat to Pope Sergius? What a sorcerer, Charmer, and Conjuror, was Hildebrand, called Gregory the seventh? given to all beastlinesse, and diabolicall practices; this was he that threw the Sacrament in the fire: What was Innocent the third? who was branded with this black marke, *non est innocentius, imo nocens vere*, he is not innocent; but very nocent: What a wicked and cruell murtherer was John the twelfth, a Romane borne who caused to cut off the nose of one Cardinall, and the

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thumbe of another Cardinall; onely because they had wrot the whole tract of his abhominable vices to the Emperour Otho.

What an inhumane and homicidious Pope was Stephanus the seventh? who after he had cancelled the decrees of his predecessour Formosus, caused to deterre his dead body, cut off his fingers, and lay him in the fields to be devoured with the fowles of the aire: What a beastly Pope was Sergius the third? that after he had imprisoned Christopholus his predecessor, he caused to draw out the corps of Pope Formosus his old compeditor from the grave, and cut off his head, as though hee had beene alive.

What a cruelty was shown upon John the 17. who after he was depraved his Papacy, had his eyes pulled out, his nose cut off and his members, and was hanged: What a poysonable Pope was Damasus? who poysoned his predecessour Clemens the second, to attaine the Papality, and yet dyed within a moneth there after being Pope: What a mercilesse Pope was Boniface the seventh, that after he had Rob'd Saint Peters Church and fled to Constantinople, hearing that Pope John the 14. was replaced, he returned, and pulling out his eyes, did cast him in prison, where he dyed of extreame hunger. What a persecution had Gelase borne in Gaeta neare Naples, who first by the Romanes was imprisoned, then stoned through the Citty, miserably dyed. Gregory the 8. succeeding him, was Deposed by Caliste brother to the Duke of Burgondy, who imprisoned the other, and starving him to Death, made him selfe Pope.

What devotion fell out from the braines of Rome, to stone Pope Lucius the second to Death: What a shamefull division was in your Papality; for fifty yeares, when

ITALY

Urbanus lived Pope at Rome and his Successours; and Clemens 7. and his Successors at Avignon. Nay, you have had three Popes at one time; even when Sigismond King of Hungary and Boheme was elected Emperour, to wit. Benedict 3. at Avignon; John 23. at Bologna; and Gregory the twelfth at Rimini: I pray you, could every one of them open and shut the Gates of Heaven and Hell. What an Infidell, was Pope John 22. who denied the immortality of the Soule.

What was Clement the 5. but an open Whore munger and a drunken sot. What was Boniface the 8. he was called a Theefe, a Robber, and rooted in all unspeakable sinnes, the eight Nero of Rome. What a furious and wicked Pope, was Julius the second? who given more to Warre then to Christ, cast Saint Peters keyes (as they call them) into Tiber. What a prophaine skoffer of Christ, was Paule the third? who lying in bed with his owne Cousin Laura Farnesia, was sore wounded by her Husband; he lay with his owne Daughter, and poysoned her Husband; and then lay with his owne sister, and after poysoned both her and his owne mother. What was Julius the third? an open Sodomite, and horrible blasphemer. What was Pope Eugenius? a damnable scandalizer of the Church, and condemned by the Counsel of Basil, for an incorrigible and wilfull Hereticke. Pope John 23. was deposed by the Counsell of Constance, for Heresie, Symony, Murther, Enchantment, Adultery, and worst of all for Sodomy. What was Pope John 13. a vilde monster in his life, committing incest with both his sisters, and fathers Concubine Stephana: Hee was a gamster, and playing at Dice, did call for helpe to the Divel, and would drinke to the Divels health; hee was replete

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with all abhominable vices; at last being taken in the acte of Adultery, was wounded to Death.

Boniface the 8. afore named, came to bee Pope, by cousning his predecessour Celestine, in speaking through the Wall in a Reed (as if it had beene a voyce from Heaven) admonished him to surrender his Papacy.

And I remember about twenty yeares ago Paulo Papa quinto, Cannonized Carolo Borrameo, the late Bishop of Milan for a notable Saint, being knowne to bee a notorious and scelerate liver: done sooner by fifteene yeares then their ordinary time, and that for the touch of forty thousand Duckuts; allotting Prayers, Miracles, Pardons, and Pilgrimages to him, and erecting a new Order of Friars, and Monasteries unto him. And yet the poore Bishop of Lodi, a good and charitable liver by all reports, could never, nor cannot attayne to the dignity of a Saint, his meanes was so small when dead, and his friends so poore being alive.

CHAPTER TWENTY

Eastern Europe



HAVING left my afore-sayde friend Maister Grahame, at a Taverne neere to Rome, I set forward and arrived (the way of Ferrara and Padua) at Venice. Who then was levying an Army against the Croatian Skokes of Gradisca, and the Duke of Styria now Emperour.

Now leaving both the Armies barking at other like to Hircanian wolves, I traced the fertile soyles of Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria even to Vienna: all which were subject to the Emperour, save a part of Carniola, that groanes under the Turke. Being arrived at Vienna, I found the Towne, and the flying fame of it far different, either for greatnesse, strength, or wealth: for the Towne rising upon a moderat height circular, is but of small compasse without, not passing two English miles.

The suburbs round about, being twice as great as the Towne; and the strength of it is no way comparable to a hundred Cities that I have seene, neither is it for wealth so much to be admired, being depraved of Seas, shipping, and navigation, having onely the needfull prosperity of dry land Townes.

Here I found a Turkish Ambassadour, going downe the Danube, for Constantinople; and with him one Gratianus, a Greeke his Interpreter, to whose familiar love I was much obliged; and with whom I imbarked downe the River to Pressburg, and from thence discending the River to Komorom, the downemost Towne the Emperour retayneth on Danube, I left my noble Interpreter, and traversed the Champaine Countrey.

The soyle of Hungary aboundeth infinitely in all things

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the earth can produce for the well of man. The auncient Inhabitants divided their habitations in nine circles, which the Germanes named Hagyes, and impaled them with high walles, made of earth and wood, being twenty foote high, and as much in breadth, being rampierd with divers Bulwarks and Towers of earth, whereon grew all sorts of hearbes, and fructiferous trees.

The space from side to side of each one of these circles, amounted to twenty Dutch miles; the Townes, Villages and houses being within, and so contrived, that each one was within cry of another: this was the first admirable plantation of the Hunnes in this Kingdome.

The Hungarians have ever beene thiftuous, treacherous and false, so that there one brother will hardly trust another, which infidelity among themselves and distracted deceitfull governours, was the chieftest cause of their overthrow and subjection under Infidels.

I found the Wheat here growing higher then my head, the Vines over locking the trees, the Grasse jussling with my knees, and the high-sprung Woods, threatning the clouds: surely if I should enter on particulars here, I have more subject to worke upon, than any Kingdome that ever I saw: The Kingdome is divided in two parts, the higher and the lower, the lowest, largest, and best is under the Turke, and the other narrow proportion under the Emperour.

There is a great Gentry in this Kingdome, but untravelled abroad, farre lesse mannerly at home, being luxurious and ill taught, and damnably given to that Masculine misery, the whole Southerne World is defiled with.

Having now traversed all the Countrey to Wallachia, I found the Country so covered with Woods, and them

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full of Murtherers (for I was robbed on these confines, and hardly saved my life) I was constrayned I say, to returne to Tokay in the higher Hungary, and from thence in one day I stepped into Transylvania.

This Countrey is so environed with high and unpassable mountaines about, that there is but only five entries to come into it, which make it so strong and impregnable: Within there is a rich bottome or plaine of thirty miles long, and sixe broad, being beautified with six faire Townes. On the incircled plaine, there groweth nothing but Wheat, Rye, Barley, Pease, and Beanes: And on the halfe, or lower parts of the Hills about, nothing but Wines, and infinite Villages; and toward the extreame circulary heights, only Pastorage for Kine, Sheepe, Goates, and Horses, and thickets of woods: So fram'd that every one supplieth another, for they of the Valley furnish the other two parts with Victuall, and they againe them with Wines, Bestiall, Butter, and Cheese; each interchanging all necessary things with one another as they need.

Here I found every where kind and familiar people; yea, and the very Vulgars speaking frequent Latine, and so commonly doe all the Hungarians. The Inhabitants here are all Protestants, but for their Vayvod or Prince, I saw him not, for hee was lying sicke of a Feaver. This Province is a free Principality, and notwithstanding adherent in some respect to the authority of the Turke.

But now having left this Religious Country, and crossing the North passage of the Hills, I entred in Moldavia; where for my welcome in the midst of a border-Wood, I was beset with six murderers, Hungarians and Molda-

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vians: where having with many prayers saved my life, they robbed mee of threescore Hungar Ducats of gold, and all my Turkish clothes, leaving me stark naked; save onely they returned to me my Patents, Papers, and Seales.

This done, and for their better security, they caryed mee a little out of the way, and bound my naked body fast about the middle to an Oaken tree, with wooden ropes, and my armes backward so likewise: swearing to me, that if I cryed for helpe, or marred them of their designs before the Sun set, they would turne backe and kill me; promising then to set me free.

But night come, and I forgotten, was left here in a trembling feare, for Wolves and wild Boares till the morrow; where at last by Gods providence I was relieved in the morning by a company of Heardes: who clothing me with an old long coat of theirs, and refreshing me with meat; one of them caryed me five leagues unto the Lord of the ground, the Baron of Starhulds, a Moldavian Protestant, with whom I stayed fiftene dayes: And was more than repaired of all my losses, by his owne bounty, and Noble Kinsmen, his neighbouring friends, and would not suffer mee to goe any further in the Countrey, because of the Turkes jealousie over strangers.

Well, I yeeld to the Noble mans counsell, and giving him all dutifull thanks for his kind regards, he sent a guide with mee for two dayes journey through a part of Podolia, the upmost Countrey of Polland, bordering with Tartary.

The halfe of which Countrey I found left disinhabited and desolat by incursions of Tartarians. Here I determined to have entered in Tartary, but finding no conduct

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nor assurance of my safety, I continued my course to Cracow, situat on the upper Frontiers of Poland bordering with Hungary.

Tartary is thought to be sixe hundred leagues in length, confining Eastward with China, to the South with the Caspian Sea, to the North with Russia, and to the West with Podolia, and Moldavia.

The Tartars are not expert in Warre, neither are they so valerous as the Turkes, nor so manly as the Polonians, who counter-blow them at rancounters; neverthelesse by stealth of inroades, they mightily suppress the extreamest parts of Polland.

The Cham or Emperour of Tartary is so obeyed and revered among the Tartars, that they intitulate him the sonne of God, the man of God, and the soule of God. This custome of idolatrous obeysance, came first by one Rangavistah, who being chosen to be their Emperour, would try their promptnesse and goodwill of obedience towards him, commanding seven of his chieffest Princes, and head Governours under him of the people, to kill their Infants, with their owne hands.

And notwithstanding the Commandement seemed very rude and intollerable, yet they fearing the common people, who esteeme their Emperours to be the divine Kinsmen (as it were) of God; they did cut the throats every one of them, of their owne Children, before his owne eyes, and the sight of the people.

Insomuch that ever since, the life and death of the Tartars, depend upon the good-will and word of the King, which no way they dare contradict, such is the ignorant reverence they carry toward him. As for the idolatrous Rites they use at his Death, in inclosing or interring

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quicke in a Vault neere to his Tombe, one of every Office that he loved best, being alive, to goe serve him in Paradise; I will not meddle with it, neither with the Vulgars Superstition, who Religiously feast upon the Corpes of their aged Parents, and then doe burne their bones into ashes, giving them such a buriall, as we give our Witches; for indeede the Wormes come short among the dead Tartars of their foode.

Being arrived in Cracow, the capitall City of Polland (though but of small importance) I met with diverse Scottish Merchants, who were wonderfull glade of mine arrival there, especially the two brothers Dicksones, men of singular note for honesty and Wealth.

It was my lucke heere, to bee acquainted with Count du Torne, the first Noble-man of Boheme, who had newly broake out of Prison in Prague, and fled hither from Bohemia for safety. Mathias then being Emperour, against whom hee had highly offended in boasting him in his Bed-Chamber with hard and intollerable speeches: Saying to Mathias in his face, and before his Wife the Empresse: Loe there is the right hand that helped to put the Imperial Crowne on thy head, and behold now there is my foote shall strike it off againe.

This Fugitive Earl stayed me with him ten dayes to discourse, and beare him Company, for then hee had but onely one follower that came post with him: I found him Princely disposed in all things, and very familiar in his cariage.

At last his trayne and treasure comming with many other Bohemian Barons and Gentlemen his friends, I humbly left him, and touching at Lublin where the Judges of Polland sit for halfe the yeare, I arrived at

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Warsaw, the resident place for the King Sigismond who had newly married the other Sister of his former Wife being both Sisters to this Ferdinando now Emperour: A match I dare say more fit for the savage Sabuncks of Lybia, than for a Christian Prince or shepheard.

But it is no matter Pope Paulus Quintus gave him licence, and in that liberty, a wide passage to Purgatory.

Here I found abundance of gallant rich Merchants my Countrey-men, who were all very kind to me, and so were they by the way in every place where I came, the conclusion being ever sealed with deepe draughts, and God be with you.

Poland is a large and mighty Kingdome, puissant in Horse-men, and populous of strangers; being charged with a proud Nobility, a familiar and manly Gentry, and a ruvidous vulgarity: They are all for the most part, of square and thicke bodies, having Bull-necks, great thighes and legs, grim and broad faces, and commonly their shaven heads are finely covered with overthwarting strokes of crooked shables: for they, and the Armenians of Asia are of stature and thicknesse the biggest, and grossest people the world affoordeth.

The soyle is wonderfull fruitfull of Cornes, so that this Countrey is become the Ginnell of Western Europe for all sorts of graine, besides Honey, Waxe, Flaxe, Iron, and other commodities: And for auspiciousnesse, I may rather tearme it to be a Mother and Nurse, for the youth and younglings of Scotland, who are yearly sent hither in great numbers, than a proper Dame for her owne birth; in cloathing, feeding, and inriching them with the fatnesse of her best things; besides thirty thousand Scots families, that live incorporate in her bowells. And certainly

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Polland may be tearmed the first commencement of all our best.

And now ceasing to peramble through any moe particulars of this familiar Nation to us, I was kindly transported from Warsaw upon a Waggon to Danzig, being fifty leagues distant, with a Generous young Merchant William Bailey my cliddisdale Countrey man, to whose courtesies I still rest thankfull.

Here in Danzig I fell deadly sicke for three weekes space, insomuch that my Grave and Tombe was prepared by my Countrey-men there.

Neverthelesse in end (it pleased almighty God) I recovered my health, and then imbarcked for Elsinore in Denmark, where being better convalessed, I recoured backe in a Flemish Pink to Stockholm: where after five or sixe dayes being there, and finding my sicknesse like to returne againe, and fearing the worst, I made hast for England.

THE THIRD JOURNEY
CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Ireland

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BUT now having finished the two Descriptions, of my first and second adventures; it rests now most necessary, to relate the meritorious designe, and miserable effect of my third Voyage. After I had (I say) by the great Providence of God, escaped infinite dangers, by Seas suffering thrice shipwracke, by Land, in Woods and on Mountaynes often invaded; by ravenous Beasts, crawling and venemous Wormes daily incombred; by home-bred Robbers, and remote Savages; five times stript to the skin; excessive fastidiousnesse, unspeakable adversities, parching heates, scorching drouth, intollerable distresses of hunger, imprisonments, and cold; yet all these almost incredible sufferings past, could never abate the flame of mine austiere affection conceived; but ambitious curiosity, exposing me to a third Voyage, I may say as Æneas did in his penetentiall mood:

O socii neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum,
O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem.

O Socials! we're not ignorant of losses;
O Suffrings sad, God too, will end these crosses.

My Resolution, was to borrow a larger dimmense of ground in Affricke then formerly I had done in twice before, even to Æthiopia, Prester Jehans Dominions.

And having from a Royall favour obtayned his Majesties Letters and Seales of safe Conduct, and Regall recom-

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mendation, to all Kings, Princes and Dukes, &c. I bad farewell, to this most auspicious Monarchy; and arriving at Dublin in Ireland, August the two and twenty, one thousand sixe hundred and nineteene, I saluted the Right Honourable Sir Oliver St. Johns late Lord Grandison, and then Lord Deputy there, from whom for regard and singular courtesies, I was greatly obliged.

And now after a generall surveigh of the whole Kingdome, (the North-west part of Connaught excepted) accomplished: from the 1. of September til the last of February; I found the goodnesse of the Soyle, more then answerable to mine expectation, the defect only remayning (not speaking of our Collonies) in the people, and from them, in the bosome of two gracelesse sisters, Ignorance and Sluggishnesse. The Iland lyeth almost in a Rotundo, being every way spacious; the greatest River whereof is Shannon, whose course, amounteth to eight score miles, inclosing within it many little Iles.

And this I dare avow, there are moe Rivers, Lakes, Brookes, Strands, Quagmires, Dogs, and Marishes, in this Countrey, then in all Christendome besides; for Travelling there in the Winter, all my dayly solace, was sincke down comfort; whiles Boggy-plunging deepes kissing my horse belly; whiles over-mired Saddle, Body, and all; and often or ever set a swimming, in great danger, both I, and my Guides of our Lives: That for cloudy and fountayne-bred perils, I was never before redacted to such a floting Laborinth. Considering that in five moneths space, I quite spoyled sixe horses, and my selfe as tyred as the worst of them.

And now I call to memory (not without derision) though I conceale the particular place and Prelate; it was

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my Fortune in the County of Donegal, to bee joviall with a Bishop at his Table, where after diverse Discourses, my ghostly Father grew offended with mee, for tearming of his Wife Mistresse: which, when understood, I both called her Madame, and Lady Bishop: Whereupon he grew more incensed.

But now to come to my punctuall Discourse of Ireland; true it is, to make a fit comparison, the Barbarian Moore, the Moorish Spaniard, the Turke, and the Irish-man, are the least industrious, and most sluggish livers under the Sunne, for the vulgar Irish I protest, live more miserably in their brutish fashion, then the undaunted, or untamed Arabian, the Divelish-idolatrous Turcoman, or the Moone-worshipping Caramines: showing thereby a greater necessity they have to live, then any pleasure they have, or can have in their living.

There Fabrickes are three or foure yardes high, erected in a singular Frame, of straw, greene truff, and Raine-dropping watles. Their Chambers, Halls, Parlors, Kitchens, Barnes, and Stables, are all inclosed in one, and that one (perhaps) in the midst of a Mire; where, when in foule weather, scarcely can they finde a drye part, whereupon to Repose, their cloud-baptized heads. Their shirts be woven, of the wooll or Linnen of their owne nature, and their penurious foode semblable, to their ruvid condition.

And lastly, these onely titular Christians, are so ignorant in their superstitious profession of Popery, that neither they, nor the greatest part of their Priests know, or understand, what the mistery of the Masse is, which they dayly see, and the other celebrat, nor what the name of Jesus is, either in his divine, or humane nature: Aske him

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of his Religion? he replyeth, what his father, his great grand-father were, that will he be also: And hundreds of better then the common sort, have demanded mee, if Jerusalem, and Christs sepulcher were in Ireland, and if the Holy Land was contiguat with Saint Patrickes purgatory.

They also at the sight of each new Moone (I speake it credibly), bequeath their Cattell to her protection, imploring the pale Lady of the night, that shee will leave their Bestiall in as good plight, as shee found them: And if sicke, scabbed, or sore, they solicitat her mayden-fac'd Majesty to restore them to their health, in which absurdity, they far surmount the silly Sabuncks, and Moores of Lybia: Indeed of all things (besides their ignorance) I onely lamented their heavie bondage under three kind of Masters; the Land-lord for his Rent, the Minister for his Tythes, and the Romish Priest for his Fees: And remarke when their owne Irish Rent masters have per-adventure superspended at home in feasting of strangers, then must these poore ones be taxed and afflicted with the supply of their prodigall houses; otherwise in supporting their superfluous charges for Dublin.

As for their Gentry such as are brought up here at London, learne to become a great deale more civill, than these who are brought up at home, after their owne rude and accustomable manner: And this I observed, in my traversing the whole Kingdome, I never saw one, or other, neither could move any of that selfe Nation, to pledge or present his Majesties health; but as many other healths as you list; they will both fasten, and receive from you, till they fall in the muddy hotch potch of their dead Grandfathers understanding: Indeed for entertainment of

IRELAND

strangers they are freely disposed, and there Gentlemen of any good sort, reserve ever in their houses, Spanish Sack, and Irish Uscova, and will be as tipsy with their wives, their Priests, and their friends, as though they were naturally infest, in the eleven royall Tavernes of Naples.

And now amongst many, there are two intollerable abuses of protections in that Kingdome: The one of Theeves and Woodcarnes, the other of Priests and Papists: I discourse of these corruptions now, as I found them then.

The first is prejudiciall to all Christian civillnesse tranquill government, and a great discouragment for our colonizd plantators there, belonging to both soyles of this Iland, being dayly molested, and nightly incombered with these blood-sucking Rebels.

And notwithstanding of their barbarous crueltie, ever executed at all advantages, with slaughter and murder upon the Scots and English dwellers there; yet they have and find at their owne wills Symonaicall protections, for lesser or longer times; for these villanous Woodcarnes are but the Hounds of their Priests, against what faction soever, their malignity is intended.

But leaving this, I remember I saw in Irelands North-parts, two remarkable sights: The one was their manner of Tillage, Ploughes drawne by Horse-tayles, they are only fastned, with straw, or wooden Ropes to their bare Rumps, marching all side for side, three or foure in a Ranke, and as many men hanging by the ends of that untoward Labour. It is as bad a Husbandry I say, as ever I found among the wildest Savages alive; for the Caramins, who understand not the civill forme of Agriculture; yet they delve, hollow, and turne over the ground, with manuall and Wooden instruments: but they the Irish have

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thousands of both Kingdomes daily labouring beside them; yet they can not learne, because they wil not learne, to use (garnishing,) so obstinate they are in their barbarous consuetude, unlesse punishment and penalties were inflicted; and yet most of them are content to pay twenty shillings a yeare, before they wil change their Custome.

The other as goodly sight I saw, was women travayling the way, or toying at home, carry their Infants about their neckes, and laying the dugges over their shoulders, would give sucke to the Babes behinde their backes, without taking them in their armes: Such kind of breasts, me thinketh were very fit, to be made money bags for East or West-Indian Merchants, being more then halfe a yard long, and as wel wrought, as any Tanner, in the like charge, could ever mollifie such Leather.

As for any other customes they have, to avoyd prolixitie I spare; onely, before my pen flee over Seas, I would gladly shake hands with some of our Churchmen there, for better are the wounds of a friend, than the sweet smiles of a flatterer.

Many dissembling impudents intrude themselves in this high calling of God, who are not truely, neither worthily thereunto called; and yet their smallest stipends shall amount to one, two three, or foure hundred pounds a yeare.

Whereupon you may demand mee, how spend they, or how deserve they this? I answer, their deserts are nought, and the fruite thereof as naughtily spent: for Sermons and Prayers they never have any, neither never preached any, nor can preach.

The Alehouse is their Church, the Irish Priests their Consorts, their Auditors be fill and fetch more, their Text

IRELAND

Spanish Sacke, their Prayers carrousing, their singing of Psalmes the whiffing of Tobacco, their last blessing Aqua vitæ, and all their doctrine, sound drunkenesse.

Great God amend it, for it is great pitty to behold it, and if it continue so still, as when I saw them last; O farre better it were! that these ill bestowed Tythes, and Church-wall Rents were distributed to the poore, and needy, than to suffocate the swine-fed bellies of such idle and prophane Parasits. Yet I would not have the Reader to thinke that I condemne all our Clergie there, no God forbid, for I know there are many sound and Religious Preachers of both Kingdomes among them, who make conscience of their calling, and live as Lanthorns to incapable ignorants.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Spain



AND now after the ending of a tempestuous raine-sacking toyle, I embarked at Yoghall in Munster, February 27. 1620. in a little French Pinke bound for St. Mallo in Bretagne. Where, when transported, I set face to Spain. A just reward (may I say) refounded, upon these fond conceites, you have of the fantasticke French: Especially these superstitious straglers heere; who, when they have sucked the milke of their selfe ends, and your lavish Liberalities without desert; returne a kicke with their heeles (like to the Colt of an Asse) in your teeth agayne. And there your meritorious thanks, and their shamefull slaunders, in acquittance of your vayne Expençe.

Tell me, if you be tyed like Apes to imitate their ever-changing humours? and can you draw from them (in any Art or cariage) a greater draught, then they draw from the Italian, for first they be Imitators; next, Mutators; thirdly, Temptators; and lastly, your Plantators, in all the varieties of vanity. Have you a desire to learne modestly to Daunce, skilfully to Fence, dexteriously to manage Great Horses, view Forraine sights, learne Languages, Humane policies, and the like inducements. But to conclude this Epitome of France, three things I wish the way-faring man to prevent there: First, the eating of Victuals, and drinking of Wine without price making; least (when he hath done) for the stridor of his teeth his charges be redoubled. Next to choose his lodging (if it fall out in any way-standing Taverne) far from palludiat Ditches, least the vehemency of chirking frogs, vex the

S P A I N

wish'd-for Repose of his fatigated body, and cast him in a vigilant perplexity.

And lastly, unlesse earely hee would arise, I never wish him to lye neere the fore-streetes of a Towne; because of the disturbant clamours of the Peasant samboies or nayle-woodden shoes: whose noyse like an æquivox, resembleth the clashing armour of Armies; or the clangour of the Ulyssen-tumbling Horse to fatall Troy.

But now to my purpose, leaving Paris behind me, I arrived at Pau in Bearne. Hence, I discended the River of Orthes to Baion, and crossing the River Behobia, which divideth France and Spaine, I entered in Biscay June 19. 1620. In the way to St. James of Compostela in Galicia: It was my fortune, at St. Domingo to enter the Towne-Church: accompanied with two French Puppies, mindfull to shew me a miraculous matter.

Where, when come, I espied over my head opposit to the great Altar, two milke white Hennes, enraveled in an iron Cage, on the inner side of the Porches Promontore. And demanding why they were kept? Or what they signified? Certaine Spaniards replied come along with us, and you shall see the Storie, and being brought to the (Choro) it was drawne thereon as followeth. The father and the sonne, two Burboneons of France; going in Pilgrimage to St. James, it was their lot to lodge here in an Inne: Where supper ended, and reckoning payed, the Host entered their Chamber, when they were a sleepe, and in bed, conveying his owne purse in the young man's Budget.

To morrow earely; the two innocent Pilgrimes, footing the hard bruising way, were quickly over-hied by the Justice; where the Host making search for his purse,

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found it in the sonnes bagge. Whereupon instantly, and in the same place hee was hanged, and left hanging there, seazing on their money be a sententiall forfeiture.

The sorrowfull Father (notwithstanding) continued his Pilgrimage to Compostela. Where, when come, and devotion made, our Lady of Monserrat appeared to him saying: Thy prayers are heard, and thy groanes have pierced my heart, arise, and returne to Saint Domingo for thy sonne liveth. And hee accordingly returned, found it so, and the sonne, hanged 30. dayes, spoke thus from the Gallowes, Father, goe to our Host, and shew him I live, then speedily returne. By which direction the old man entred the Towne, and finding the Host at Table, in breaking up of two roasted Pullets, told him, and sayd: My sonne liveth, come and see. To which the smiling Host replied, he is as surely alive on the Gallowes, as these two Pullets be alive in the dish. At which protestation, the two fire-scorched fowles leapt out suddainly alive, with heads, wings, feathers, and feet, and kekling, tooke flight thrice about the Table. The which amazing sight, made the astonished Host to confesse his guiltines; and the other relieved from the rope, he was hung up in his place, allotting his house for an Hospitality to Pilgrimes for ever.

There are still two Hennes reserved here, in memory of this miracle, and aye changed, as they grow fat for the Priests chops, being freely given to the place. And I dare say, these Priests eate fatter Hennes, than Don Phillipo him selfe, they being fed by the peoples devotion, at their enterance to the morning and evening sacrifices, and are tearmed holy Hennes.

Infinite paper could I blot, with relating the like

SPAIN

absurdities, and miraculous lies of the Romane Church, but leaving them till a fitter occasion, I proceed.

From thence traversing a great part of the higher Asturia, I entred in Galitia, and found the Countrey so barren, the people so poore, and victuals so scarce, that inforcement, withdrew me to Portugale: Where I found little better. After twenty dayes fastidious climbing in this Kingdome, I returned to Salamanca in Castile; the Sacerdotall University of Spaine, whence springeth these Flockes of Studentes, that over-swarme the whole land with rogueries, robberies, and begging.

From thence I arrived at the Escorial; where then late King Phillip the third, had his residence. This Pallace standeth alone, and founded upon the skirt of a perpendicular hill, squared out from a devalling steepnesse, having a large prospect Southwardly towards the mountaines beyond Toledo.

I may rather tearme it a Monastery, then a Kingly Pallace, having a hundred and fifty Monkes, Chartuzians, of St. Hieronimoes order living within it; the King onely remaining in a private corner, at his comming thither. Nay at that instant, he was so private that before I saw his face, I could not beleeeve, that the Patrone of so great a Monarchy, could be so quiet; yea, as quiet as a Countrey Baron is with us, and had lived so nine weekes before. The house it selfe I confesse, excelleth in beauty, that Constantinopolitan Seraglio, of the great Turke.

Spaine generally, is a masse of mountaines, a barren ill manured soyle: Neither well inhabited nor populous: Yea, so desartuous that in the very heart of Spaine, I have gone eightene leagues, (two dayes journey) unseeing house or Village, except two Ventas, Tavernes. And commonly

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eight leagues without any house: Villages be so farre distant, the Rockie Seraes or Alpes so innumerable.

It is miserable travelling, hard lodging and poore, great scarcity of beds and deare: And no ready drest diet, unlesse you buy it raw; and cause dresse, or dresse it your selfe, buying first in one place your fire, your meate from the Butcher, your bread from the Baker, your Wine from the Taverne, your Fruites, Oyle, and Hearbes from the Botega, carrying all to the last place, your bed-lodging: Thus must the weary Stranger toile, or else fast: And in infinite places for Gold nor money can have no victuals; but restrained to a relenting jejunation.

The high-minded Spaniard and their high topped mountaines, have an infused contention together. The one through arrogant ambition, would invade the whole earth to enlarge his dominions: The other by a steepe swolne hight, seeme to threaten the Heavens to pull down Jupiter from his throne. And as I take it, the Spaniard being of a low stature, borroweth his high-minded breast from the high topped mountaines, for the one in quality, and the other in quantity, be extraordinarily infounded.

Certaine it is, as the Spaniard in all things standeth mainly upon his reputation (but never to avouch it with single combat) so he vaunteth not a little of his antiquity, deriving his pedegree from Tubal, the Nephew of Noe. But how often hath the Line of Tubal, beene bastarded, degenerated, and quite expelled, by invasions of Phœnicians, Colonies of the Romanes, the general deluge of the Gothes, Hunnes, and Vandales: and lastly, by the long Tyranny of the Moores, whose bondage in 800. yeares, hee could scarcely shake off; his owne Histories beare sufficient testimony. Then it is manifest, that this

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mixture of Nations, must of necessity make a compounded Nature. Their Manners are conformable to their descent, and their Vertues semblable to their last and longest Conquerors, of whom they retayne the truest stampe.

The most penurious Peasants in the World be heere, whose Quotidian moanes, might draw teares from stones. Their Villages stand as wast like as the Sabunck, Garamont, or Arabian Pavilleons, wanting Gardens, Hedges, Closes, Barnes, or Backe-sides: This sluggish and idle husbandry, being a natural instinct of their neighbour or paternal Moores.

As for industrious Artes, Inventions, and Vertues, they are as dull thereof, as their late Predecessours: and truly I confesse for the Spanish Nunne, she is more holy then the Italian; the former are onely Reserved to the Friers, and Priests: The latter being more Noble, have most affinity, with Gentle-men. The Spaniard is of a spare dyet and temperate, if at his owne cost he spend; but if given Gratis, he hath the longest Tuskes that ever stroke at Table.

After a doubtfull and dangerous departure from Madrid, with sore travayle wee came to Malaga, and thereafter parting to our severall Lodgings, the next morning I addressed my selfe to the shoare side; where I had notice given me, of a French ship belonging to Tolon in Provence, that was lying in the Mould, and shortly bound for Alexandria: And finding that Transportation most convenient for my designe (my safest course lying through Ægypt and the Red Sea, for Prester Jehans Dominions and Court) I presently made bargain with the Ships-master, for my passage and Victuals.

And now attending my departure thence, uppon the fift day after my comming hither Anno 1620. October 27.

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the English Fleete that went agaynst the Pyrats of Algiers, gave Anchor at mid-night in the Roade: Whose suddaine comming, yeelded no small feare to the affrighted Towne, mistaking them for Turkes; for the two Castle-bells Ringing backe-ward, the thundring Drums resounding, and the Towne all the latter night in Armes, bred such disturbant despaire to their families, and distraction to themselves, that their wives and children fled to the higher Castle without the Towne; and I a stayd Consort with the Defendants till day light. But morning come, and the English Colours discovered, Don Jasper Ruiz de Peredas the Governour, went aboard of the English Generall Sir Robert Maunsell; where after congratulating complements, he being returned a shoare, dismissed the Burgers and their Armes. In that afternoone, and the day following beeing Satturday, there came hundreds a shoare of my speciall friends, and olde familiars, Londoners, and Courtiers, with whom desirously met, we were joviall together, till Sunday morning: where then I went aboard of the Lyon, his Majesties ship, and saluted the Generall, who kindly intertained mee to the next day, that the Fleete was divided in three Squaders, and he under Sayle, and then unhappily came I a shoare in a Fisher boate, to my deare bought destruction, beeing sore agaynst the Generals will, but that I should have gone with him to Algiers: Save onely that my Linnen, Letters, and Sacket was lying in my hostery, and so could not go.

And so now followeth the sorrowfull Relations of my Tragical sufferings. I was no sooner entred the Towne, and drawing up a private way to my lodging, to shunne company and acquaintance, for that night was I to have embarked for Alexandria, but I was suddenly surprised in

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that narrow depopulated street, with nine Alguozilos, Sergeants, who inclosing mee on both sides layd violent hands on mee, wrapping me up in a blacke frizado cloake, and gripping my throat to stop my crying, they carryed me on their armes to the governours house, and inclosed me in a low Parlour.

To which when the Governour came, I sadly spoke, saying, My most noble Governour, and worthy Lord, I humbly beseech your goodnes to shew me, for what offence or cause, I am thus violently brought before you, knowing that in me, and from my carriage, there is no injury committed. Whereat, without answer, and shaking his head, he caused inclose mee in a little Cabinet within the Parlour, till he went for Masse, commanding them to fetch hither, the Captaine of the Towne Don Francesco, di Cordova, the Alcade major, and the States Scrivan, enjoyning them to conceale my apprehending till further tryal under the paine of death.

At last, the Sergeants were dismissed, the doores made fast, and I was brought forth before these foure Cavalliers, all placed in chayres, and the Scrivan-table set, with pen and paper to write my confession. Where after long silence, the Governour asked mee of my Nation, and how long, and how often I had beene out of my Country: and whether I was bound? and how long I had beene in Spaine. To whom I punctually returned my dividuat answers.

Whereupon being inclosed in my former Cabinet, within a while Don Francesco entred my roome, demanding mee if I had beene in Seville, or was come from it; and clapping my cheeks with a Judas-smile made this entreaty. My deare brother, and gallant Companion, confesse freely that you have beene in Seville, for your countenance

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bewrayeth, there are some hidden purposes in the closet of your breast; and you had best in time relate to mee the trueth.

Whereat I saying no, he went back, resolving them of my stiffe denyall, and they therewith incensed, I was invited to their former presence, and maine accusations ensuing. First the Governour made me sweare and hold up my hand, that I should tell the particular trueth of every thing hee was to demand of mee; which indeed I did according to my knowledge.

Then he inquired if the English Generall, was a Duke, or great Signior, and what could be the reason, that he refused to come a shoare there; for that was the first impression of their false conceived jealousie. Next; he asked mee, if I knew his name, and the other Captaines and what their names were? and what their intention was? or if I had knowne of their comming abroad, or preparation for it, before my departure from England.

The Scrivan writing downe meanwhile every word he spoke and what I answered: well; to all the former particulars giving condigne satisfaction, and to the last, denying that I knew of the forth comming of the fleet, they all foure gave a shout in the contrary. Whereupon the Governour swearing, cursed and said, thou leyst like a Villane, thou art a spy and a traytor, and camest directly from England of purpose to Spaine; and hath beene lying nine moneths in Seville, getting sure intelligence, when the Spanish Navy was looked for from the Indies; and that thou expressly heere, came to meete with the English Armado, to give them credible knowledge thereof.

Whereat I being astonished, and seriously answering for the intention of the English Fleete, and my owne

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innocency concerning them: He threatning sayd, I was seene familiar a Boord and a shoare, with the whole Captaines, and knowne to be of their speciall acquaintance: besides three hundred other Gentle-men, and Mariners with whom, and they with thee, were so inward, that it far exceeded the kindnes of accidentall meeting.

All this we saw, and houely remarked (sayd hee). And therefore thou art a Spiono, a Traytor, and a sclerate Velacco: for wee are not ignorant (sayd he) of the burning of St. Thomas in the West Indies; for there and then, wee had a certaine evidence of the English infidelity, and treacherous exploytes in time of Peace: Wherefore these Lutheranes and Sonnes of the Divell, ought not from us good Catholickes to receive no credit.

Whereupon I besought him, to send for some sufficient English Factors, there sojourning, who would testifie the contrary in my behalfe, their Countrey, and their Fleete, but that he would not, for my being discovered. At last seeing his damnable opinion, and to cleare my selfe of such false imputations: I requested him to send a Sergeant to my Posado or Lodging for my Clogbag, where hee should see a more evident Testimony of my carriage and honest purpose, and thereupon the approbation of my Prince.

This demaund liked him well, thinking thereby to finde out all the secrets and practises of my Negotiation with the English Fleete: Whereupon forthwith, and with close Circumspection he had it brought unto him, my hostage House not knowing where I was. The Clogbag I opened my selfe, and showing him his Majesties Letters in parchment, and under his Hand and Seale, and my intended Resolution for Æthiopia, the Kings safe Conduct he mis-regarded, giving it neyther Respect nor trust.

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But these would not satisfie him, nay, rather confirming a greater jealousie of his former suspition: whereupon misconstruing all, they seased absolutely upon my Clog-bag, viewing, and detayning all I had at their pleasure; including me the third time. This done, and within night, beeing Represented againe, the Governour commaunded me to subscribe my Confession, which I voluntarily obeyed; though they still urged me further and further to confesse. Meanewhile these foure Complices consulting about my Imprisonment, the Alcalde or chiefe Justice would have had me along with him to the Town Jayle, but the Corrigidor refused saying: That hee may not bee seene by his Country-men.

Upon the knowledge of this, that I was secretly to be incarcerate in the Governours Palace, entred the M. Sergeant, and begged my mony, and Lycence to search it: and liberty granted hee found in my pockets eleaven Philippos or Ducatons; and then uncloathing me before their eyes, even to my shirt, and searching my breeches, he found in my Doublet necke, fast shut betweene two Canvesses, 137. double peeces of gold. Whereat the Corrigidor arose and counting my gold, being 548. duccats, he sayd to the Sergeant, cloath him againe, and inclose him there in the Cabinet till after Supper. Meane-while the Sergeant got the 11. duccatons of Silver; and my gold, which was to take me for Æthiopia, the Governour seased upon; giving afterwards 200. Crownes of it to supply the new layd Foundation of a Capuschine Monastery there, reserving the rest (being 348. duccats) for his owne avaricious ends.

This done, and mid-night come, the Sergeant and two Turkish slaves releasing mee from the inferiour Roome,

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brought mee through certayne ascending passages, to a chamber, in a sequestrate side of the Palace, toward the Garden, and right above his Summer Kitchen: Where there, and then, the Sergeants, and the two slaves, thrust on every ancle an heavy bolt, my legs being put to the full stride, by a mayne gad of iron far above a yard long, upon the endes of which the two bolts depended, that were fastned about my legs. Insomuch, that I could never sit up, nor walke, nor stand, nor turne me; but lay continually on my backe, the irons being thrice heavier then my body.

Whereupon beholding my inevitable misery, and such monster-made irons my sighing soule deplored thus: Alas Sergeant, and you two Slaves, remarke in me the just Judgements of God; and loe how the Heavens have reduced me to this meritorious reward, and truely deserved; for I have dearely and truly bought it; that I whose legges and feete the whole Universe could scarcely contayne, now these bolts and irons keepe them fast, in a body length, of a stone-paved Floore. O foolish pride, O suppressing ambition! and vaporous curiosity! woe worth the fury of your aspiring vanities; you have taken mee over the face of the earth, and now left me in a Dungeon hole: My soule, O my soule is leager unto this Proverbe, Man proposeth, and God disposeth: O happy had I beene, thrice happy in a Shepherds life.

Thus, and more lamenting the destiny of nature, they left mee with solacious words, and straight returned againe with Victuals; being a pound of boyl'd Mutton, a wheat bread, and a small Pint of Wine: which was the first, the best, and the last of this kinde, that ever I got in that woe-full Mansion. The Sergeant leaving me (never seeing him

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more, till a more unwelcomed sight) hee directed the Slaves, that after I had contented my discontented appetite, they should locke the doore, and carry the keyes to Areta, a Spaniard and keeper of the silver plate.

A little while after he was gone, the other Drudge left me also, who was newly turned Christian: where being alone with Hazier the naturall Turke, who was to attend me, feede me, and keepe me, lying nightly a constraigned Centinell, without the doore of my imprisonment; hee demanded me for what cause I was committed? I answered, onely for a naked suspition, mistaking the honorable intention of the English Armado, I am as a spy apprehended, and falsely accused.

Whereupon the silly Slave falling downe on his knees, held up his hands, crying, Brother, Brother, it is much needfull for you to take all in patience, for it is impossible now you can escape, some fearefull tryall, and thereupon a horrible punishment even unto death; and alas to relieve you, if I durst, to discover you to your Countrey-men, I would doe it upon my knees, and leaving me with a weeping good night, he made fast the doore, and transported the keyes, as he was directed.

The day following the Governour entered my Prison alone, intreating me to confesse that I was a spy, and he would be my friend, and procure my pardon, neither should I lacke (interim) any needfull thing: But I still attesting my innocency, hee wrathfully swore I should see his face no more, till grievous torments should make me doe it.

But withall in my audience, he commanded Areta, that none should come neare mee except the slave, nor no food should be given mee but three ounces of moosted browne

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bread, every second day, and a Fuleto or English Pint of water, neither any bed, pillow, or coverlet to be allowed mee: And close up sayd he, this window in his roome, with lyme and stone, stop the holes of the doore with double Matts, hanging another locking to it; and to withdraw all visible and sensible comfort from him, let no tongue, nor feet be heard neare him, till I have my designes accomplished: And thou Hazier I charge thee, at thy incommings to have no conference with him, nor at thy out-goings abroad to discover him to the English Factors, as thou wilt answer upon thy life, and the highest torments can be devised.

These directions delivered, my roome was made a darke-drawn Dungeon, my belly the anatomy of mercilesse hunger, my comfortlesse hearing, the receptacle of sounding Bells, my eye wanting light, a loathsome languishing in despaire, and my ground lying body, the woefull mirrour of misfortunes: every houre wishing anothers comming, every day the night, and every night the morning.

And now being every second or third day attended with the twinckling of an eye, and my sustenance agreeable to my attendance, my body grew exceeding debile and infirme; insomuch that the Governour (after his answers receaved from Madrid) made haste to put in execution, his bloody and mercilesse purpose before Christmas Holydayes: least ere the expiring of the twelfth day, I should be utterly famished, and unable to undergoe my triall, without present perishing, yet unknowne to me, save onely in this knowledge, that I was confident to dye a fearefull and unacquainted death: for it is a current custome with the Spaniard, that if a stranger be apprehended upon any suspicion, he is never brought to open tryall, and common

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Jayle, but clapd up in a Dungeon, and there tortured, impoysoned, or starved to death: Such meritorious deeds, accompany these onely titular Christians: for the Spaniard accounteth it more to be called a Christian, than either to beleieve what hee professeth, or to conforme him selfe to the life of Christianity: yea, I sparingly ayouch it, hee is the worst and baddest creature of the Christian name; having no more Religion (and lesse respective to devotion) than an externall presumptuous show.

In end, by Gods permission, the scourge of my fiery tryall approaching; upon the forty seventh day after my first imprisonment, and five dayes before Christmas; about two a clocke in the morning, I heard the noyse of a Coach in the fore-street, marvelling much what it might meane.

The former nine Sergeants, accompanied with the Scrivan, entered the roome without word speaking, and carrying mee thence, with irons and all, on their armes through the house, to the street, they layd mee on my backe in the Coach: where two of them sat up beside mee, (the rest using great silence) went softly along by the Coach side. Then Baptista the Coach-man, an Indian Negro droving out at the Sea-gate, the way of the shoare-side, I was brought Westward almost a league from the Towne, to a Vine-presse house, standing alone amongst Vineyards, where they inclosed mee in a roome till day light, for hither was the Racke brought the night before, and privately placed in the end of a Trance.

And all this secresie was used, that neyther English, French, or Flemings, should see or get any knowledge of my Tryall, my grievous Tortures, and dreadfull dispatch, because of their treacherous and cruel proceedings.

At the breach of day the Governour, Don Francesco,

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and the Alcalde, came foorth in another Coach: where when arrived, and I invited to their presence, I pleaded for a Trench man, being against their Law, to accuse or condemne a Stranger, without a sufficient Interpreter. The which they absolutely refused, neyther would they suffer or grant mee an Appellation to Madrid.

And now after long and new Examinations, from morning to darke night, they finding my first and second Confession so runne in one, that the Governour swore, I had learned the Arte of Memory.

Well, the Governours interrogation and my Confession being mutually subscribed: He and Don Francesco besought me earnestly to acknowledge and confesse my guiltinesse in time: if not, he would deliver me in the Alcaldes hands there present.

But finding mee stand fast to the marke of my spotlesse innocency, he, invective, and malicious hee, after many tremendous threatnings, commanded the Scrivan to draw up a Warrant for the chiefe Justice: And done, he set his hand to it, and taking me by the hand, delivered me and the Warrant in the Alcalde Majors hands, to cause mee bee Tortured, broken, and cruelly Tormented.

Whence being carried along on the Sergeants armes, to the end of a Trance or stone Gallery, where the Pottaro or Racke was placed: The Encarnador or Tormentor, begunne to disburden me of my irons, which beeing very hard inbolted he could not Ram-verse the Wedges for a long time: Whereat the Chiefe Justice being offended, the malicious Villaine with the Hammer which he had in his hand, stroake away above an inch of my left heele with the Bolt. Whereupon I grievously groaning, beeing exceeding faint, and without my three ounces of bread,

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and a little Water for three dayes together: The Alcalde sayd, O Traytor all this is nothing, but the earnest of a greater bargain you have in hand.

Now the irons being dissolved, and my Torments approaching, I fell prostrate on my knees, crying to the Heavens.

After this, the Alcalde, and Scrivan, being both chaire-set, the one to examine, the other to write downe my Confession and Tortures: I was by the Executioner stripped to the skin, brought to the Racke, and then mounted by him on the top of it: Where eftsoones I was hung by the bare shoulders, with two small Cords, which went under both mine armes, running on two Rings of iron that were fixed in the Wall above my head.

Thus being hoysed, to the appoynted height, the Tormentor discended below, and drawing downe my Legs, through the two sides of the three-planked Racke, hee tyed a Cord about each of my ancles: And then ascending upon the Racke, hee drew the Cords upward, and bending forward with maine force, my two knees, against the two planks; the sinewes of my hammes burst a sunder, and the lids of my knees beeing crushed, and the Cords made fast, I hung so demayned, for a large houre.

At last the Encarnador, informing the Governor, that I had the marke of Jerusalem on my right arme, joyned with the name and Crowne of King James, and done upon the Holy Grave. The Corrigidor came out of his adjoyning stance, and gave direction, to teare asunder, the name, and Crowne (as hee sayd) of that Hereticke King, and arch-enemy to the Holy Catholicke Church: Then the Tormentor, laying the right arme above the left, and the Crowne upmost, did cast a Cord over both

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armes, seaven distant times: And then lying downe upon his backe, and setting both his feete on my hollow-pinch'd belly, he charged; and drew violently with his hands, making my Wombe support the force of his feete, till the seaven severall Cords combind in one place of my arme, (and cutting the Crowne, sinewes, and flesh to the bare bones) did pull in my fingers close to the palme of my hands: the left hand of which is Lame so still, and will be for ever.

Now mine eyes begun to startle, my mouth to foame and froath, and my teeth to chatter like to the doubling of Drummers stickes. O strange inhumanity of Men-monster Manglers! surpassing the limits of their nationall Law; three score Tortures beeing the tryall of Treason, which I had, and was to indure: yet thus to inflict a seaven-fold surplussage of more intollerable cruelties: And notwithstanding of my shivering lippes, in this fiery passion my vehement groaning, and blood-springing fonts, from armes, broake sinewes, hammes, and knees; yea, and my depending weight on flesh-cutting Cords; yet they stroke mee on the face with Cudgels, to abate and cease the thundring noyse of my wrestling voyce.

At last being loosed from these Pinnacles of paine, I was hand-fast set on the floore, with this their incessant imploration: Confesse, confesse, confesse in time, for thine inevitable torments ensue: where finding nothing from me, but still innocent, O I am innocent, O Jesus! the Lambe of God have mercy upon mee, and strengthen mee with patience, to undergoe this barbarous murder.

Then by command of the Justice, was my trembling body layd above, and along upon the face of the Racke, with my head downe-ward, inclosed within a circled hole,

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my belly upmost, and my heeles upward toward the top of the Racke: my legs and armes being drawne a sunder, were fastned with pinnes and Cords, to both sides of the outward planks; for now was I to receive my maine torments.

Now what a Pottaro or Racke is (for it stood by the wall declining downe-ward) it is made of three planks of Timber, the upmost end whereof is larger then a ful stride; the lower end being narrow, and the three planks joyning together, are made conformable to a Mans shoulders: in the downe-most end of the middle planke there was a hole, wherein my head was layd: in length it is longer than a man, being interlaced with small cords from planke to planke, which divided my supported thighes from the middle plank: Through the sides of which exterior planks there were three distant holes in every one of them; the use wherefore you shall presently heare.

Now the Alcalde giving commission, the executioner layd first a cord over the calfe of my leg, then another on the middle of my thigh, and the third cord over the great of my arme; which was severally done, on both sides of my body receaving the ends of the cords, from these sixe severall places through the holes made in the outward planks, which were fastned to pinnes, and the pinnes made fast with a device: for he was to charge on the out side of the planks, with as many pinnes, as there were holes and cords; the cords being first laid meet to my skin: And on every one of these sixe parts of my body, I was to receive seven severall tortures: each torture consisting of three winding throwes, of every pinne; which amounted to twenty one throwes, in every one of these sixe parts.

Then the Tormentor having charged the first passage about my body (making fast by a device each torture as

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they were multiplied) he went to an earthen Jarre standing full of water, a little beneath my head: from whence carrying a pot full of water; in the bottome whereof, there was an incised hole, which being stopd by his thumb, till it came to my mouth, hee did powre it in my bellie; the measure being a Spanish Sombre, which is an English Potle: The first and second services I gladly received, such was the scorching drouth of my tormenting payne, and likewise I had drunke none for three dayes before.

But afterward, at the third charge, perceiving these measures of water to be inflicted upon me as tortures, O strangling tortures! I closed my lips, gaine-standing that eager crudelity.

Whereat the Alcalde inraging, set my teeth asunder with a payre of iron cadges, detayning them there, at every severall turne, both mainely and manually; whereupon my hunger-clungd bellie waxing great, grew Drum-like imbolstered: for it being a suffocating payne, in regard of my head hanging downeward, and the water reingorging it selfe in my throat with a struggling force; it strangled and swallowed up my breath from youling and groaning.

And now to prevent my renewing griefe (for presently my heart fayleth and forsaketh me) I will onely briefly avouch, that betweene each one of these seven circular charges, I was aye reexamined, each examination continuing halfe an houre; each halfe houre a hell of infernall paine, and betweene each torment, a long distance of life quelling time.

Thus lay I sixe houres upon the Racke, betweene foure a clocke afternoone, and ten a clocke at night, having had inflicted upon me three score seven torments: Nevertheless they continued me a large halfe houre (after all my

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tortures) at the full bending; where my body being all begored with blood, and cut through in every part, to the crushed and bruised bones, I pittifully remayned, still roaring, howling, foaming, bellowing, and gnashing my teeth, with insupportable cryes, before the pinnes were undone, and my body loosed. At last my head being by their armes advanced, and my body taken from the Rack, the water regushed abundantly from my mouth; then they recloathing my broken, bloody, and cold trembling body, being all this time starke naked, I fell twice in a sounding trance: which they againe refreshed with a little Wine, and two warme Egges, not for charity done, but that I should be reserved to further punishment.

And now at last they charged my broken legs, with my former eye-frighting irons, and done, I was lamentably carried on their armes to the Coach, being after mid-night, and secretly transported to my former Dungeon without any knowledge of the Towne, save onely these my lawlesse, and mercillesse Tormentors: where, when come, I was layd with my head and my heeles alike high, on my former stones.

The latter end of this woefull night poore mourning Hazier the Turke, was set to keepe me, and on the morrow, the Governour entred my roome threatning me still with moe tortures to confesse, and so caused he every morning long before day, his Coach to be rumbled at his gate, and about me where I lay, a great noyse of tongues, and opening of doores: and all this they did of purpose to affright and distract me, and to make me beleieve I was going to be rackt againe, to make me confesse an untrueth; and still thus they continued every day of five dayes till Christmas.

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Upon Christmas day Mariana the Ladies Gentlewoman got permission to visit me, and with her licence, she brought abundance of teares presenting me also with a dish of Honey and Sugar, some confections, and Rasins in a great plenty to my no small comfort, besides using many sweet speeches for consolations sake.

Shee gone, and the next morning of Saint Johns day come, long ere day the Towne was in Armes, the Bells ringing backward, the people shouting, and Drummes beating; whereat my soule was over-joyed, thinking that the Moores had seized upon all: And in the after noone the Turke comming to me with bread and water, being by chance the second day, I asked him what the fray was? who replied, be of good courage, I hope in God and Mahomet, that you and I ere long shall be set at liberty; for your Countrey-men, the English Armado, and mine the Moores, are joyned together, and comming to sacke Malaga: And this morning Post came from Alicante to premonish the Governour thereof; whereupon he and the Towne have instantly pulled downe, all the Cowper shops, and dwelling houses that were builded without by the shoare side, adjoyning to the Townes Wall: But yet sayd he it is no matter, the Towne may easily be surprised, and I hope we shall be merry in Algiers, for there is above a hundred sayle seene comming hither; and therewith kissing my cheeke, hee kindly left mee.

Indeed, as for such newes from Alicante; the detriment of twenty eight houses, the shoare-planted Cannon, the suspicion they had of the English, and the Towne foure dayes in Armes were all true, save onely the confederacy of the English with the Moores, that was false.

Witnesse Sir Richard Halkins, and the Captaines of his

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Squader, who a little after Christmas, comming to the Road, went to the Governour to cleere himselfe, and the Fleete of that absurd imputation layde to their charge. The twelfth day of Christmasse expired, they beganne to threaten me on still with moe Tortures, even till Candlemasse: In all which comfortlesse time, I was miserably afflicted with the beastly plague of gnawing Vermin, which lay crawling in lumps, within, without, and about my body: yea, hanging in clusters about my beard, my lips, my nostriles, and my eye-browes, almost inclosing my sight.

And for a greater satisfaction to their mercillesse mindes, the Governour caused Areta, his silver plate keeper, to gather and swipe the Vermine upon me twice in eight dayes, which tormented me to the death, beeing a perpetuall punishment; for mine armes being broake, my hands lucken and sticking fast to the palmes of both hands, by reason of the shrunke sinewes; I was unable to lift mine armes, or stir my fingers, much-lesse to avoyde the filthy Vermine: neyther could my legges and feete performe it beeing impotent in all. Yet I acknowledge the poore Infidell, some few times, and when opportunity served, would steale the keyes from Areta, and about midnight would enter my Roome, with stickes and burning oyle, and sweeping them together in heapes, would burne the greatest part, to my great Releafe; or doubtlesse I had bene miserably eaten up, and devoured by them.

And now some eight dayes before Candlemasse, the slave informed me that an English Seminary Priest, borne in London, and belonging to the Bishops Colledge of Malaga; and a Scottish Cowper, named Alexander Ley, borne in Dunbar, and there married; were in Translating

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all my Bookes and Observations out of English, in the Spanish tongue, bringing every other day numbers of wrot Papers to the Governour, and for their paines had thirty ducats allowed, and that they were saying, I was an Arch-Hereticke to the Pope and the Virgin Mary.

Having redounded him concealed thanks, I was assured of their bloody Inquisition, preparing my selfe in God, with Faith, and Patience to Receive and gane-stand it: for my spirituall Resolution, was surely founded being sightlesse of company, and humane faces, I had intirely the light of my Soule celebrate to God Almighty.

And hereupon the second day after Candlemas, the Governour, the Inquisitor a Canonick Priest, entered my Dungeon, accompanied with two Jesuites, one of which was Predicator, and Superiour of the Tiatinean Colledge of Malaga: Where being Chaire set, Candle-lighted, and doore locked; the Inquisitor after diverse frivolous questions, demaunded me if I was a Romane Catholicke, and acknowledged the Popes Supremacy. To whom I answered, I was neyther the one, nor did the other. And what power (sayd I,) have you to challenge me of my Religion, since it is a chiefe Article, of the former concluded peace, that none of our Kings subjects should be troubled by your Inquisition; but as you have murdered me for alledged Treason; so you meane to Martyre me for Religion.

And you Governour, as you have Tortured and hunger-starved this helplesse body, consumed with cold and vermine to the last of my life; the Almighty God who revealeth the secrets of all things (although I bee never relieved) will certainly discover it, to my Countrey and to the World. And is this the best of your good deeds? you repay

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to our mercifull King, who then being onely King of Scotland, in the time of your just over-throw of Eighty Eight, gave secourse to thousands of your Ship-wracked people for many moneths; and in the end, caused transport them safely to their desired Ports.

To which the Governour answered, all that was true, but it was done more through feare then love, and therefore deserved the lesser thanks. And the Jesuite Predicator to confirme his words, sayd, there was no faith to be kept with Heretickes, which directly or indirectly is the sublime policy of Conquerours, which our mighty and invincible Nation evermore taketh notice of and observeth.

Then the Inquisitor arrising, expressed himselfe thus: Behold the powerfull majesty of Gods mother, Commaunder of her Sonne, equall to the Father, Wife to the Holy Ghost, Queene of Heaven, Protector of Angels, and sole Gubernatrix of the earth, &c. How thou being first taken as a Spye, accused for Treachery, and innocently Tortured (as we acknowledge we were better informed lately from Madrid of the English intention) yet it was her power, her Divine power, which brought these judgments upon thee; in that thou hast wrot calumniously against her blessed miracles of Loreto: and against his Holinesse, the great Agent, and Christs Viccar on earth: Therefore thou hast justly fallen into our hands, by her speciall appointment; thy Bookes and papers, are miraculously Translated by her speciall providence with thy owne Countrey-men. And after many such like exhortations of all the foure, the Inquisitor assigned me eight dayes for my Conversion: Saying, that hee, and the Tiatines would twice a day visite mee in that time. Then in leaving mee, the Jesuite Predicator making a Crosse

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upon my crossed breast, sayd, My sonne, beholde you deserve to be burnt quicke, but by the grace of our Lady of Loreto, whom you have blasphemed, wee will both save your Soule and Body. They gone and I alone, all this night, was I instant with my God, imploring his Grace, to Rectifie my thoughts, illuminate my understanding, confirme my confidence, beatifie my memory, to sanctifie my knowledge, to expell the servile feare of Death, and to save my soule, from the intangling corruption of any private ends, illusions, or mundane Respects whatsoever.

The next morning, the three Ecclesiasticke returned, and being placed with Chaires and Candles, the Inquisitor made interrogation of what difficulties, errors, or mis-beliefe I had. To whom ingenuously I answered I had none, neyther any difficulty, error, nor mis-beliefe; but was confident in the promises of Jesus Christ, and assuredly believed his Revealed will in the Gospell, professed in the Reformed Catholicke Church; which being confirmed by Grace, I had the infallible assurance in my Soule, of the true Christian Faith.

To these words, he answered, thou art no Christian, but an absurd Hereticke, and without Conversion a member of perdition. Whereupon I replied, Reverend Sir, the nature of Charity and Religion, doe not consist in opprobrious speeches; wherefore if you would convert me (as you say) convince mee by Argument: if not, all your threatenings of fire, Death, nor Torments, shall make me shrinke from the truth of Gods Word in Sacred Scriptures. Whereupon the mad Inquisitor clapt mee on the face with his foote, abusing me with many Raylings, and if the Jesuites had not intercepted him, he had stobbed

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me with a knife; where, when dismissed, I never saw him more.

The third day insuing (and having broake their promise) the two Jesuites returned, and after a frowning silence, the Superiour asked me of my Resolution: I told him I was Resolved already, unlesse hee could show me good Reasons in the contrary. Whereupon having past with me some few superficiall Arguments, the fiery fac'd Jesuits, with boisterous menacings left mee; and the eight day thereafter, being the last day of their Inquisition, they returned againe, in a more milder disposition: where after divers arguments on both sides, the two Jesuits with teares distilling from their eyes, solidly protested, they were sorry from their heart, for that terrible death I was to undergo, and above all the loosing of my soule: And falling downe on their knees, cryed, convert, convert, O deare brother! for our blessed Ladies sake convert.

Whereupon they called the Governour, and after their privy consulting, hee thus spoke; Deare brother, my greatest desire is, to have thee a good Christian, a Romane Catholick, to which if thy conscience will yeeld, I will shew thee as great courtesie, as thou hast receaved cruelty: for pittie it were, that such an invincible spirit, and endued with so many good parts, should perish in both worlds for ever. Plucke up thy heart, and let the love of our blessed Lady enter in thy soule: Let not thy former sufferings dismay thee, (for thy sores being yet greene and curable) I shall transport thee to a fine Chamber, and there thou shalst have all needfull things for the recovery of thy health and strength. Thy money and Patents shall be refounded, but thy hereticall Bookes are already burned: And lastly sayd he, I will send thee with my owne Servant

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to Court, Counsel, and King, with letters from the holy Inquisition, and from mee, faithfully promising thou shalt enjoy a Pension of three hundred Duccats a yeare.

But having satisfied his bewitching policy with a Christian constancy; they all three left mee in a thundering rage; vowing, I should that night have the first seale of my long sorrowes: And directing their course to the Bishop and Inquisitor (for the Governour had wrested the Inquisition upon mee, to free him of his former aspersion layd upon the English Fleet, and my tryall therefore, converting it all to matters of Religion) the Inquisition (I say) sat forthwith, where first I was condemned to receive that night eleven strangling torments in my Dungeon: and then after Easter Holy dayes, I should be transported privately to Granada, and there about mid-night to be burnt body and bones into ashes, and my ashes to be flung into the ayre.

Well, that same night the Scrivan, Sergeants, and the young English Priest entered my melancholly staunce: where the Priest in the English tongue urging mee all that he could and unprevailing, I was disburdened of mine irones unclothed to my skin, set on my knees and held up fast with their hands: where instantly setting my teeth asunder with iron Cadges, they filled my belly full of water, even gorgeing to my throat: Then with a garter they bound fast my throat, till the white of mine eye turned upward; and being laid on my side, I was by two Sergeants tumbled to and fro seven times through the roome; even till I was almost strangled: This done, they fastned a small cord about each one of my great toes, and hoysing me therewith to the rooffe of a high loft (for the cords runne on two rings of iron fastned above) they cut the garter,

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and there I hung, with my head downward, in my tormented weight, till all the gushing water dissolved: This done, I was let downe from the loft, quite senslesse, lying a long time cold dead among their hands: whereof the Governour being informed, came running up stayres, crying, Is he dead, O fie villanes goe fetch me Wine, which they powred in my mouth, regayning thereby a slender sparke of breath.

These strangling torments ended, and I re clothed, and fast bolted againe they left mee lying on the cold floore praying my God, and singing of a Psalme. The next morning the pittifull Turke visiting mee with bread and water, brought me also secretly in his shirt sleeve, two handfull of Rasins and figges, laying them on the floore amongst the crawling vermine, for having no use of armes nor hands, I was constrayned by hunger and impotency of time, to licke one up with another with my tongue: This charity of figs the slave did once every weeke or fortnight, or else I had long or then famished.

After which the eye-melting Turke fell five dayes sicke, and bedfast: but the house Spaniards understanding his disease made him beleewe I was a Sorcerer; giving him such a distast, that for thirty dayes, he never durst looke me in the face, being affraid of witchcraft.

All this time of his absence, one Ellinor the Cooke, an Indian Negro woman, attended mee, for she being a Christian drudge, had more liberty to visit mee, than the slavish Infidell: who certainly (under God) prolonged then my languishing life, conveighing me for foure weekes space, once a day some lesse or more nourishment, and in her pocket a bottle glasse of Wine. Being no wayes semblable to the soule betraying teares¹ of her Crocodilean sexe.

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Now about the middle of Lent, Hazier, my former Friend, was appoynted to attend me agayne, suspecting Ellenors compassion; but as my miseries were multiplied, my Patience in God was redoubled.

But now to abbreviate a thousand Circumstances of my Lamentable sufferings, which this Volume may not suffer to containe: By Gods great providence, about a fortnight before Easter, Anno 1621. there came a Spanish Cavaliere of Granada to Malaga, whom the Governour one night invited to Supper being of old acquaintance: where after Supper to intertayne Discourse, the Governour related and disclosed to the stranger (God working thereby my discovery and deliverance) all the proceedings and causes of my first apprehending, my Confessions, Torments, starvings, their mistaking of the English Fleete, and finally the wresting of the Inquisition upon me, and their Condemnatory Sentence seeming also much to Lament my misfortunes, and praying my Travailes and Deserts.

Now all this while, the Gentlemans servant, a Flandrish Fleming, standing at his Maisters backe, and adhering to all the Governours Relations, was astonished, to heare of a sakelesse Stranger, to have indured, and to indure such damnable Murther and Cruelty. Whereupon, the Discourse ending and mid-night past, the stranger returned to his Lodging; where the Fleming having bedded his Maister, and himselfe also in another Roome, he could not sleepe all that night, and if hee slumbered, still hee thought hee saw a man Torturing, and burning in the fire: which hee confessed to M. Wilds when morning came.

Well, he longed for day, and it being come, and hee cloathed, hee quietly left his Lodging, inquiring for an

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English Factor, and comming to the House of M. Richard Wilds, the chiefe English Consull: Hee told him all what hee heard the Governour tell his Master, but could not tell my name: only Maister Wilds conjectur'd it was I, because of the others report of a Traveller, and of his first and former acquaintance with me there.

Whereupon the Fleming being dismissed, he straight sent for the other English Factors; where advising with them, what was best to be done for my reliefe; they sent letters away immediatly with all post dilligence, to Sir Walter Aston, his Majesties Ambassadour lying at Madrid: Upon which hee mediating with the King and Counsell of Spaine, obtained a strait warrant to command the Governour of Malaga, to deliver mee over in the English hands: which being come, to their great disliking, I was released on Easter-saturday before midnight, and carryed uppon Hazier the slaves backe to Master Busbitches house, where I was carefully attended till day light.

By great fortune there being a squader of his Majesties Ships lying in the Road, Sir Richard Halkins came earely a shoare, accompanied with a strong trayne, and receaved mee from the Merchants: Whence I was carryed on mens armes in a payre of blanquets, to the Vangard his Majesties ship. And three dayes thereafter, I was transported to a ship bound for England. And to be brieve, upon the fifty day after my departure from Malaga, I arrived at Dartford upon Thames.

The next morning I was carried to Theoballs on a feather-bed, and brought to the privy Gallery, for the Kings comming from Parke. Witnesse all the Court of England, even from the King to the Kitchin, what a martyrd anatomy I was, at then of me their first sight;

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and what small hope was either expected of my life or recovery. Where, when immediatly having made my most humble and grievous complaints unto his sacred Majesty, his gracious consideration (in the meane time) was such, for the recovery of my health, that I was twice sent to the Bath at the charges of his Royall love, during the space of twenty seven weekes, where by the Divine providence, and his Princely clemency, I have recovered for the time in a large measure, the health and strength of my body, although my left Arme, and crushed bones be incurable.

Meane while, in the first Weeke of my Arrivall in England, I was conveyed from Theobalds (by his Majesties direction) to Don Diego Surmento de Gundamore, the Spanish Ambassadour, then Resident in Holborne. Where he vottally undertooke, before then the two Lord Marquesses, Hammilton and Buckingham, (confirming it the day following to his Majesty at Greenewich) that after a condigne tryall had from Spaine, concerning my grievances: I should have all my money, Cloathes, Observations, Testimoniall Patents, and his Majesties Seales restored me agayne, with a thousand pound sterling also, (beeing modified by his Royall pleasure) of the Governour of Malagaes meanes, for the maintayning of my Lane and Racked body.

These promises were made the sixt of June 1621. and were to be performed againe Michaelmasse day insuing: But this day come, hee continued his drifts to the Prima vera; and it also arrived, he deferred time, with new protestations, onely to Easter or Pascua: And that Season come, he turned my Pascua to Prison: For a little before his departure I told him flatly in his face, from the grieffe of my soule, what he was, and what he went about;

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which afterward proved true: Whereupon in the Chamber of Presence, before the Emperours Ambassadors, and diverse Knights and Gentle-men, his Majesties servants: he rashly adventured the credite of Leager honour, in a single Combat against me a retorted Plaintive: Where indeed favour lent him authority; for I lay nine Weekes incarcerate in the Marshall-Sea at Southwarke: Whence I returned with more credite, then hee left England with honesty; beeing both Vanquish'd and Victor.

But afterward when death had darted King James of matchlesse memory; then was I constrayned to preferre a bill of grievance to the upper house of Parliament Anno, 1626. which I dayly followed 17. weekes: Well; my grievances were heard and considered, and thereupon an order graunted me (bearing the Lords pleasure concerning my suite) unto Sir Thomas Coventrey, Lord keeper of Englands great Seale; and through whose office my businesse should have passed. Meane-while the house breaking up abruptly (because of soveraigne disliking) their order for my suite could take none effect as then; and so my order and reliefe lyeth suspended till some hapy time.

And now to conclude this Tragicall discourse, the Religious eye, may perceive Gods compassionate love, foure wayes here extended. First, his powerfull providence in my long and admirable preservation in Prison: hunger, Vermine, and Tortures, being my comfortlesse Companions. Secondly, the pittifull kindnesse of his All-seeing Eye, in the miraculous Wonder of my Discovery, when the perverted policy of subtile Serpents, had sceleratly suggested my concealement. Thirdly, his unspeakable mercy in my unlooked-for deliverance, beeing by hopelesse me, not thought, not sought; and yet by his munificence

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was wrought. And lastly, his gracious goodnesse, in the recovery (after some large measure) of my health and use of body againe; all prayse and glory be to his infinite Majesty therefore.

And now to conclude, as a Painter, may spoyle a Picture, but not the face; so may some Reader misconceave some parts of this eye-set History, though not able to marre the trueth of it: yet howsoever, here is the just relation of nineteene yeares travells, perfited in three deare-bought voyages: The general computation of which spaces, in my goings, traversings, and returnings, through Kingdomes, Continents, and Ilands, which my paynefull feet traced over (besides my passages of Seas and Rivers) amounteth to
thirty six thousand and odde miles,
which draweth neare to twice
the circumference of the
whole Earth. And so
farewell.

FINIS

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by Anton Tchekoff. Translated by George Calderon

- ¶ Tchekoff had that fine comedic spirit which relishes the incongruity between the actual disorder of the world with the underlying order. He habitually mingled tragedy (which is life seen close at hand) with comedy (which is life seen at a distance). His plays are tragedies with the texture of comedy.

34. THE MONK AND THE HANGMAN'S
DAUGHTER

by Ambrose Bierce

- ¶ 'They are stories which the discerning are certain to welcome. They are evidence of very unusual powers, and when once they have been read the reader will feel himself impelled to dig out more from the same pen.' *Westminster Gazette*

35. CAPTAIN MARGARET A Novel

by John Masefield

- ¶ 'His style is crisp, curt and vigorous. He has the Stevensonian sea-swagger, the Stevensonian sense of beauty and poetic spirit. Mr. Masefield's descriptions ring true and his characters carry conviction.' *The Observer*

36. BLUE WATER

by Arthur Sturges Hildebrand

- ¶ This book gives the real feeling of life on a small cruising yacht; the nights on deck with the sails against the sky, long fights with head winds by mountainous coasts to safety in forlorn little island ports, and constant adventure free from care.

37. STORIES FROM DE MAUPASSANT

Translated by Elizabeth Martindale

- ¶ 'His "story" engrosses the non-critical, it holds the critical too at the first reading. . . . That is the real test of art, and it is because of the inobtrusiveness of this workmanship, that for once the critic and the reader may join hands without awaiting the verdict of posterity.' *From the Introduction by FORD MADDOX*

FORD

38. WHILE THE BILLY BOILS First Series

by Henry Lawson

- ¶ These stories are written by the O. Henry of Australia. They tell of men and dogs, of cities and plains, of gullies and ridges, of sorrow and happiness, and of the fundamental goodness that is hidden in the most unpromising of human soil.

39. WHILE THE BILLY BOILS Second Series
by Henry Lawson

¶ Mr. Lawson has the uncanny knack of making the people he writes about almost violently alive. Whether he tells of jackeroos, bush children or drovers' wives, each one lingers in the memory long after we have closed the book.

41. IN MOROCCO
by Edith Wharton

¶ Morocco is a land of mists and mysteries, of trailing silver veils through which minarets, mighty towers, hot palm groves and Atlas snows peer and disappear at the will of the Atlantic cloud-drifts.

42. GLEANINGS IN BUDDHA-FIELDS
by Lafcadio Hearn

¶ A book which is readable from first page to last, and is full of suggestive thought, the essays on Japanese religious belief calling for special praise for the earnest spirit in which the subject is approached.

43. OUT OF THE EAST
by Lafcadio Hearn

¶ Mr. Hearn has written many books about Japan ; he is saturated with the essence of its beauty, and in this book the light and colour and movement of that land drips from his pen in every delicately conceived and finely written sentence.

44. KWAIDAN
by Lafcadio Hearn

¶ The marvellous tales which Mr. Hearn has told in this volume illustrate the wonder-living tendency of the Japanese. The stories are of goblins, fairies and sprites, with here and there an adventure into the field of unveiled supernaturalism.

45. THE CONQUERED
by Naomi Mitchison
A story of the Gauls under Cæsar

¶ 'With *The Conquered* Mrs. Mitchison establishes herself as the best, if not the only, English historical novelist now writing. It seems to me in many respects the most attractive and poignant historical novel I have ever read.' *New Statesman*

46. WHEN THE BOUGH BREAKS

by Naomi Mitchison

Stories of the time when Rome was crumbling to ruin

- ¶ 'Interesting, delightful, and fresh as morning dew. The connoisseur in short stories will turn to some pages in this volume again and again with renewed relish.' *Times Literary Supplement*

47. THE FLYING BO'SUN

by Arthur Mason

- ¶ 'What makes the book remarkable is the imaginative power which has re-created these events so vividly that even the supernatural ones come with the shock and the conviction with which actual supernatural events might come.' *From the Introduction* by EDWIN MUIR

48. LATER DAYS

by W. H. Davies

A pendant to *The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp*

- ¶ 'The self-portrait is given with disarming, mysterious, and baffling directness, and the writing has the same disarmingness and simpleness.' *Observer*

49. THE EYES OF THE PANTHER Stories

by Ambrose Bierce

- ¶ It is said that these tales were originally rejected by virtually every publisher in the country. Bierce was a strange man; in 1914 at the age of seventy-one he set out for Mexico and has never been heard of since. His stories are as strange as his life, but this volume shows him as a master of his art.

50. IN DEFENCE OF WOMEN

by H. L. Mencken

- ¶ 'All I design by the book is to set down in more or less plain form certain ideas that practically every civilized man and woman holds *in petto*, but that have been concealed hitherto by the vast mass of sentimentalities swathing the whole woman question.' *From the Author's Introduction*

51. VIENNESE MEDLEY A Novel

by Edith O'Shaughnessy

¶ 'It is told with infinite tenderness, with many touches of grave or poignant humour, in a very beautiful book, which no lover of fiction should allow to pass unread. A book which sets its writer definitely in the first rank of living English novelists.'

Sunday Times

52. PRECIOUS BANE A Novel

by Mary Webb

¶ 'She has a style of exquisite beauty ; which yet has both force and restraint, simplicity and subtlety ; she has fancy and wit, delicious humour and pathos. She sees and knows men aright as no other novelist does. She has, in short, genius.' *Mr.*

Edwin Pugh

53. THE INFAMOUS JOHN FRIEND

by Mrs. R. S. Garnett

¶ This book, though in form an historical novel, claims to rank as a psychological study. It is an attempt to depict a character which, though destitute of the common virtues of every-day life, is gifted with qualities that compel love and admiration.

54. HORSES AND MEN

by Sherwood Anderson

¶ '*Horses and Men* confirms our indebtedness to the publishers who are introducing his work here. It has a unity beyond that of its constant Middle-west setting. A man of poetic vision, with an intimate knowledge of particular conditions of life, here looks out upon a world that seems singularly material only because he unflinchingly accepts its actualities.' *Morning Post*

55. SELECTED ESSAYS

by Samuel Butler

¶ This volume contains the following essays :

The Humour of Homer	How to Make the Best of Life
Quis Desiderio . . . ?	The Sanctuary of Montrigone
Ramblings in Cheapside	A Medieval Girls' School
The Aunt, the Nieces, and	Art in the Valley of Saas
the Dog	Thought and Language

56. A POET'S PILGRIMAGE

by W. H. Davies

- ¶ *A Poet's Pilgrimage* recounts the author's impressions of his native Wales on his return after many years' absence. He tells of a walking tour during which he stayed in cheap rooms and ate in the small wayside inns. The result is a vivid picture of the Welsh people, the towns and countryside.

57. GLIMPSES OF UNFAMILIAR JAPAN. First Series

by Lafcadio Hearn

- ¶ Most books written about Japan have been superficial sketches of a passing traveller. Of the inner life of the Japanese we know practically nothing, their religion, superstitions, ways of thought. Lafcadio Hearn reveals something of the people and their customs as they are.

58. GLIMPSES OF UNFAMILIAR JAPAN. Second Series

by Lafcadio Hearn

- ¶ Sketches by an acute observer and a master of English prose, of a Nation in transition—of the lingering remains of Old Japan, to-day only a memory, of its gardens, its beliefs, customs, gods and devils, of its wonderful kindliness and charm—and of the New Japan, struggling against odds towards new ideals.

59. THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO

Edited by Manuel Komroff

- ¶ When Marco Polo arrived at the court of the Great Khan, Peking had just been rebuilt. Kublai Khan was at the height of his glory. Polo rose rapidly in favour and became governor of an important district. In this way he gained first-hand knowledge of a great civilization and described it with astounding accuracy and detail.

60. SELECTED PREJUDICES. Second Series

by H. L. Mencken

- ¶ 'What a master of the straight left in appreciation! Everybody who wishes to see how common sense about books and authors can be made exhilarating should acquire this delightful book.'

Morning Post

61. THE WORLD'S BACK DOORS

by Max Murray

With an introduction by HECTOR BOLITHO

- ¶ This book is not an account so much of places as of people. The journey round the world was begun with about enough money to buy one meal, and continued for 66,000 miles. There are periods as a longshore man and as a sailor, and a Chinese guard and a night watchman, and as a hobo.

62. THE EVOLUTION OF AN INTELLECTUAL

by J. Middleton Murry

- ¶ These essays were written during and immediately after the Great War. The author says that they record the painful stages by which he passed from the so-called intellectual state to the state of being what he now considers to be a reasonable man.

63. THE RENAISSANCE

by Walter Pater

- ¶ This English classic contains studies of those 'supreme artists,' Michelangelo and Da Vinci, and of Botticelli, Della Robbia, Mirandola, and others, who 'have a distinct faculty of their own by which they convey to us a peculiar quality of pleasure which we cannot get elsewhere.' There is no romance or subtlety in the work of these masters too fine for Pater to distinguish in superb English.

64. THE ADVENTURES OF A WANDERER

by Sydney Walter Powell

- ¶ Throwing up a position in the Civil Service in Natal because he preferred movement and freedom to monotony and security, the author started his wanderings by enlisting in an Indian Ambulance Corps in the South African War. Afterwards he wandered all over the world.

65. 'RACUNDRA'S' FIRST CRUISE

by Arthur Ransome

- ¶ This is the story of the building of an ideal yacht which would be a cruising boat that one man could manage if need be, but on which three people could live comfortably. The adventures of the cruise are skilfully and vividly told.

66. THE MARTYRDOM OF MAN

by Winwood Reade

¶ 'Few sketches of universal history by one single author have been written. One book that has influenced me very strongly is *The Martyrdom of Man*. This "dates," as people say, nowadays, and it has a fine gloom of its own; but it is still an extraordinarily inspiring presentation of human history as one consistent process.' *H. G. Wells in The Outline of History.*

67. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MARK RUTHERFORD

With an introduction by H. W. MASSINGHAM

¶ Because of its honesty, delicacy and simplicity of portraiture, this book has always had a curious grip upon the affections of its readers. An English Amiel, inheriting to his comfort an English Old Crome landscape, he freed and strengthened his own spirit as he will his reader's.

68. THE DELIVERANCE

by Mark Rutherford

¶ Once read, Hale White [Mark Rutherford] is never forgotten. But he is not yet approached through the highways of English letters. To the lover of his work, nothing can be more attractive than the pure and serene atmosphere of thought in which his art moves.

69. THE REVOLUTION IN TANNER'S LANE

by Mark Rutherford

¶ 'Since Bunyan, English Puritanism has produced one imaginative genius of the highest order. To my mind, our fiction contains no more perfectly drawn pictures of English life in its recurring emotional contrast of excitement and repose more valuable to the historian, or more stimulating to the imaginative reader.' *H. W. Massingham*

70. ASPECTS OF SCIENCE. First Series

by J. W. N. Sullivan

¶ Although they deal with different aspects of various scientific ideas, the papers which make up this volume do illustrate, more or less, one point of view. This book tries to show one or two of the many reasons why science may be interesting for people who are not specialists as well as for those who are.

71. MASTRO-DON GESUALDO

Giovanni Verga. Translated by D. H. Lawrence

- ¶ Verga, who died in 1922, is recognized as one of the greatest of Italian writers of fiction. He can claim a place beside Hardy and the Russians. 'It is a fine full tale, a fine, full picture of life, with a bold beauty of its own which Mr. Lawrence must have relished greatly as he translated it.' *Observer*

72. THE MISSES MALLET

by E. H. Young

- ¶ The virtue of this quiet and accomplished piece of writing lies in its quality and in its character-drawing; to summarize it would be to give no idea of its charm. Neither realism nor romance, it is a book by a writer of insight and sensibility.

73. SELECTED ESSAYS. First Series

by Sir Edmund Gosse, C.B.

- ¶ 'The prose of Sir Edmund Gosse is as rich in the colour of young imagination as in the mellow harmony of judgment. Sir Edmund Gosse's literary kit-kats will continue to be read with avidity long after the greater part of the academic criticism of the century is swept away upon the lumber-heap.' *Daily Telegraph*

74. WHERE THE BLUE BEGINS

by Christopher Morley

- ¶ A delicious satirical fantasy, in which humanity wears a dog-collar.
'Mr. Morley is a master of consequent inconsequence. His humour and irony are excellent, and his satire is only the more salient for the delicate and ingenuous fantasy in which it is set.'
Manchester Guardian

75. JAVA HEAD

by Joseph Hergesheimer

- ¶ The author has created a connoisseur's world of his own; a world of colourful bric-à-brac—of ships and rustling silks and old New England houses—a world in which the rarest and most perplexing of emotions are caught and expressed for the perceptible moment as in austere delicate porcelain. *Java Head* is a novel of grave and lasting beauty.

76. CONFESSIONS OF A YOUNG MAN

by George Moore

- ¶ 'Mr. Moore, true to his period and to his genius, stripped himself of everything that might stand between him and the achievement of his artistic object. He does not ask you to admire this George Moore. He merely asks you to observe him beyond good and evil as a constant plucked from the bewildering flow of eternity.' *Humbert Wolfe*

77. THE BAZAAR. Stories

by Martin Armstrong

- ¶ 'These stories have considerable range of subject, but in general they are stay-at-home tales, depicting cloistered lives and delicate finely fibred minds. . . . Mr. Armstrong writes beautifully.' *Nation and Athenæum*

78. SIDE SHOWS. Essays

by J. B. Atkins

With an Introduction by JAMES BONE

- ¶ Mr. J. B. Atkins was war correspondent in four wars, the London editor of a great English paper, then Paris correspondent of another, and latterly the editor of the *Spectator*. His subjects in *Side Shows* are briefly London and the sea.

79. SHORT TALKS WITH THE DEAD

by Hilaire Belloc

- ¶ In these essays Mr. Belloc attains his usual high level of pungent and witty writing. The subjects vary widely and include an imaginary talk with the spirits of Charles I, the barber of Louis XIV, and Napoleon, Venice, fakes, eclipses, Byron and the famous dissertation on the Nordic Man.

80. ORIENT EXPRESS

by John dos Passos

- ¶ This book will be read because, as well as being the temperature chart of an unfortunate sufferer from the travelling disease, it deals with places shaken by the heavy footsteps of History, manifesting itself as usual by plague, famine, murder, sudden death and depreciated currency. Underneath the book is an ode to railroad travel.

81. SELECTED ESSAYS. Second Series

by Sir Edmund Gosse, C.B.

- ¶ A second volume of essays personally chosen by Sir Edmund Gosse from the wide field of his literary work. One is delighted with the width of his appreciation which enables him to write with equal charm on *Wycherley* and on *How to Read the Bible*.

82. ON THE EVE

by Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett

- ¶ In his characters is something of the width and depth which so astounds us in the creations of Shakespeare. *On the Eve* is a quiet work, yet over which the growing consciousness of coming events casts its heavy shadow. Turgenev, even as he sketched the ripening love of a young girl, has made us feel the dawning aspirations of a nation.

83. FATHERS AND CHILDREN

by Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett

- ¶ 'As a piece of art *Fathers and Children* is the most powerful of all Turgenev's works. The figure of Bazarov is not only the political centre of the book, but a figure in which the eternal tragedy of man's impotence and insignificance is realized in scenes of a most ironical human drama.' *Edward Garnett*.

84. SMOKE

by Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett

- ¶ In this novel Turgenev sees and reflects, even in the shifting phases of political life, that which is universal in human nature. His work is compassionate, beautiful, unique; in the sight of his fellow-craftsmen always marvellous and often perfect.

85. PORGY. A Tale

by du Bose Heyward

- ¶ This fascinating book gives a vivid and intimate insight into the lives of a group of American negroes, from whom Porgy stands out, rich in humour and tragedy. The author's description of a hurricane is reminiscent in its power.

86. FRANCE AND THE FRENCH

by Sisley Huddleston

- ¶ 'There has been nothing of its kind published since the War. His book is a repository of facts marshalled with judgment; as such it should assist in clearing away a whole maze of misconceptions and prejudices, and serve as a sort of pocket encyclopædia of modern France.' *Times Literary Supplement*

88. CLOUD CUCKOO LAND. A Novel of Sparta

by Naomi Mitchison

- ¶ 'Rich and frank in passions, and rich, too, in the detail which helps to make feigned life seem real.' *Times Literary Supplement*

89. A PRIVATE IN THE GUARDS

by Stephen Graham

- ¶ In his own experiences as a soldier Stephen Graham has conserved the half-forgotten emotions of a nation in arms. Above all he makes us feel the stark brutality and horror of actual war, the valour which is more than valour, and the disciplined endurance which is human and therefore the more terrifying.

90. THUNDER ON THE LEFT

by Christopher Morley

- ¶ 'It is personal to every reader, it will become for every one a reflection of himself. I fancy that here, as always where work is fine and true, the author has created something not as he would but as he must, and is here an interpreter of a world more wonderful than he himself knows.' *Hugh Walpole*

91. THE MOON AND SIXPENCE

by Somerset Maugham

- ¶ A remarkable picture of a genius.
'Mr. Maugham has given us a ruthless and penetrating study in personality with a savage truthfulness of delineation and an icy contempt for the heroic and the sentimental.' *The Times*

92. THE CASUARINA TREE

by W. Somerset Maugham

¶ Intensely dramatic stories in which the stain of the East falls deeply on the lives of English men and women. Mr. Maugham remains cruelly aloof from his characters. On passion and its culminating tragedy he looks with unmoved detachment, ringing the changes without comment and yet with little cynicism.

93. A POOR MAN'S HOUSE

by Stephen Reynolds

¶ Vivid and intimate pictures of a Devonshire fisherman's life. 'Compact, harmonious, without a single—I won't say false—but uncertain note, true in aim, sentiment and expression, precise and imaginative, never precious, but containing here and there an absolutely priceless phrase. . . .' *Joseph Conrad*

94. WILLIAM BLAKE

by Arthur Symons

¶ When Blake spoke the first word of the nineteenth century there was none to hear it; and now that his message has penetrated the world, and is slowly re-making it, few are conscious of the man who first voiced it. This lack of knowledge is remedied in Mr. Symons' work.

95. A LITERARY PILGRIM IN ENGLAND

by Edward Thomas

¶ A book about the homes and resorts of English writers, from John Aubrey, Cowper, Gilbert White, Cobbett, Wordsworth, Burns, Borrow and Lamb, to Swinburne, Stevenson, Meredith, W. H. Hudson and H. Belloc. Each chapter is a miniature biography and at the same time a picture of the man and his work and environment.

96. NAPOLEON : THE LAST PHASE

by The Earl of Rosebery

¶ Of books and memoirs about Napoleon there is indeed no end, but of the veracious books such as this there are remarkably few. It aims to penetrate the deliberate darkness which surrounds the last act of the Napoleonic drama.

97. THE POCKET BOOK OF POEMS AND
SONGS FOR THE OPEN AIR

Compiled by Edward Thomas

¶ This anthology is meant to please those lovers of poetry and the country who like a book that can always lighten some of their burdens or give wings to their delight, whether in the open air by day, or under the roof at evening ; in it is gathered much of the finest English poetry.

98. SAFETY PINS : ESSAYS

by Christopher Morley

With an Introduction by H. M. TOMLINSON

¶ Very many readers will be glad of the opportunity to meet Mr. Morley in the rôle of the gentle essayist. He is an author who is content to move among his fellows, to note, to reflect, and to write genially and urbanely ; to love words for their sound as well as for their value in expression of thought

99. THE BLACK SOUL : A Novel

by Liam O'Flaherty

¶ ' *The Black Soul* overwhelms one like a storm. . . . Nothing like it has been written by any Irish writer.' "Æ" in *The Irish Statesman*

100. CHRISTINA ALBERTA'S FATHER :

A Novel

by H. G. Wells

¶ At first reading the book is utterly beyond criticism ; all the characters are delightfully genuine.' *Spectator*
' Brimming over with Wellsian insight, humour and invention. No one but Mr. Wells could have written the whole book and given it such verve and sparkle.' *Westminster Gazette*

101. THE INTIMATE JOURNALS OF
PAUL GAUGUIN

Translated by Van Wyck Brooks

¶ The confessions of genius are usually startling ; and Gauguin's *Journals*, now made accessible to the wider world, are no exception. He exults in his power to give free rein to his savage spirit, tearing the shawl from convention's shoulders with a gesture as unscrupulous as it is Rabelaisian.

102. THE GRUB STREET NIGHTS
ENTERTAINMENTS

by J. C. Squire

- ¶ Stories of literary life, told with a breath of fantasy and gaily ironic humour. Each character lives, and is the more lively for its touch of caricature. From *The Man Who Kept a Diary* to *The Man Who Wrote Free Verse*, these tales constitute Mr. Squire's most delightful ventures in fiction; and the conception of the book itself is unique.

103. ORIENTAL ENCOUNTERS

by Marmaduke Pickthall

- ¶ In *Oriental Encounters*, Mr. Pickthall relives his earlier manhood's discovery of Arabia and sympathetic encounters with the Eastern mind. He is one of the few travellers who really bridges the racial gulf. His book is simple in its substance and intimate in its statement, bringing us close to the author and to his experience.

104. CYRANO DE BERGERAC

by Edmond Rostand

Translated by Gladys Thomas and
Mary Guillemard

- ¶ Certain characters there are in life and literature who achieve our undying regard; and in this noble company of Sancho Panzas and D'Artagnans, Cyrano is ever eminent. The play itself is Rostand's masterpiece, and is indeed the *chef-d'œuvre* of the French Romantic Movement.

'Rumour has in no way exaggerated its extraordinary brilliance. The translation is a remarkably able piece of work.' *William Archer.*

105. THE MOTHER: A Novel

by Grazia Deledda

With an introduction by D. H. LAWRENCE

- ¶ An unusual book, both in its story and its setting in a remote Sardinian hill village, half civilized and superstitious. The action of the story takes place so rapidly (all within the space of two days) and the actual drama is so interwoven with the mental conflict, and all so forced by circumstances, that it is almost Greek in its simple and inevitable tragedy.

106. TRAVELLER'S JOY : An Anthology
by W. G. Waters

¶ This anthology has been selected for publication in the Travellers' Library from among the many collections of verse because of its suitability for the traveller, particularly the summer and autumn traveller, who would like to carry with him some store of literary provender.

107. SHIPMATES : Essays
by Felix Riesenberg

¶ A collection of intimate character portraits of men with whom the author has sailed on many voyages. The sequence of studies blends into a fascinating panorama of living characters. The essays have the feeling of the sea in them ; they also have something of its romance.



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